

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

XXXVII
(July – October 1928)





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PREFACE

This volume shows Gandhiji being slowly drawn out of his self-imposed retirement from active politics since the beginning of 1926. It covers the four months July to October, 1928, during which important developments in the political field were preparing the ground for a renewed struggle with the British Government under Gandhiji's leadership. He watched with goodwill, but some scepticism, the efforts of political leaders to forge a united front in the face of the challenge of the Statutory Commission appointed in complete disregard of national opinion. But he was more concerned with creating a sanction for the nation's demand and, therefore, took greater interest in the Bardoli Satyagraha begun in the preceding April and also set about fitting the Ashram for a proper role in the national struggle. The work imposed considerable strain on him, (*vide* "Letter to B. G. Horniman", pp. 375-6) but the labour seemed worth while. Writing to Motilal Nehru after the successful outcome of the Bardoli campaign, he said: "I have more than enough work for me in the Ashram; I do not know whether you are aware that Bardoli was possible because the Ashram was in existence. . . . If I could but make of the Ashram what I want, I should be ready to give battle on an extensive scale" (p. 194).

If satyagraha provided the sanction for the demand of the constitutionalists, satyagraha itself derived its superhuman strength from the austerities and constructive work performed in the Ashram and made possible not only the Bardoli Satyagraha but the Dandi March and the Salt Raids two years later.

It was on August 6, during Gandhiji's brief stay at Bardoli, that the peasant satyagraha, led with equal brilliance and boldness by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, ended in a settlement. While this campaign laid the foundation of "organic" or substantial swaraj, the Nehru Report, which was endorsed by the All-Parties Conference at Lucknow at the end of August, paved the way for constitutional or formal self-government. This relationship between the two kinds of swaraj provides a recurrent political theme in the volume. In a message dated August 28 to the *Indian National Herald* Gandhiji declares: "The way to constitutional swaraj may lie through Lucknow, the way to organic swaraj, which is synonymous with Ramarajya, lies through Bardoli" (p. 212), a sentiment which he repeats in a *Navajivan* article (p. 249).

The Bardoli Satyagraha provided an opportunity to test and demonstrate the strength of people's will. It was led by Vallabhbhai Patel, but guided from a distance by Gandhiji himself. This fact gave rise to a misunderstanding about his role, and he found it necessary to clear it (p. 85). Gandhiji resisted pressure to extend the scope of the campaign and make it an all-India political issue, his motives being both ethical and practical. The very concept of satyagraha implied that the satyagrahi's pledge of truth required him not to widen the scope of his demands in the course of a campaign, unless circumstances forced him to do so. In the present case, moreover, Gandhiji seems to have felt that the country was not yet ripe for an all-out struggle. "Time," he said, "has not yet come even for limited sympathetic satyagraha. Bardoli has still to prove its mettle." Anticipating the critic's objection to his attitude as being not practical, Gandhiji wrote in the same article: "The fact is that satyagraha presupposes the living presence and guidance of God. The leader depends not on his own strength but on that of God. He acts as the Voice within guides him. Very often therefore what are practical politics so called are unrealities to him, though in the end his prove to be the most practical politics" (p. 113).

If, however, Gandhiji refused to make the Bardoli struggle a wider political issue, he also refused to yield on essentials involving the people's honour and self-respect. He, therefore, advised the people to ignore the Governor's threat made in his speech to the Bombay Legislative Council on July 23 (pp. 99-101 and 131-2). Referring to the efforts of well-meaning individuals who were trying to bring about a compromise, Gandhiji asked them not to intercede on behalf of the satyagrahis of Bardoli out of misplaced pity for them. "The latter do not need pity, they do not hanker after it; what they crave for is justice" (p. 135).

When the battle was won, Gandhiji congratulated the Government of Bombay as well as the people of Bardoli and Vallabhbhai Patel. All the demands of the satyagrahis were granted except that of inquiry into the allegations about the coercive measures adopted by the Government to enforce payment. Commenting on this concession by Vallabhbhai, Gandhiji said: "It is well not to rake up old wrongs for which, beyond the reparation made, there can be no other remedy" (p. 146). In the same spirit, he asked the volunteers who had helped in making the campaign a success, to befriend all those who had opposed the struggle and also the Government officials (p. 161). To the people of Bardoli, he stressed the necessity of constructive work as an essential as-

pect of satyagraha, citing the examples of Generals Botha and Smuts who, "though they made their mark in the world as Generals were none the less keenly alive to the value and importance of steady constructive work" (p. 164). The outcome of the campaign, Gandhiji explained, had a lesson both for the Government and the people—"for the Government if they will recognize the power of the people when they have truth on their side and when they can form a non-violent combination to vindicate it" (p. 179). For the people the lesson was that "they will not become a non-violent organization unless they undergo a process of what may be called continuous corporate cleansing" (p. 180).

In a number of articles in *Navajivan* Gandhiji examined the ethical and practical implications of ahimsa, distinguishing between the spirit and the outward forms of the ideal. Indian tradition had accepted ahimsa as the supreme dharma for man, but dharma as conceived by Gandhiji was not a derived technique or a static code of ready-made morality. It is a search from day to day for truth in action. Approaching the problem of ahimsa in this experimental spirit, Gandhiji had no hesitation in rejecting the popular notions about it. "We do not destroy", he said, answering a question by a student of the Gujarat Vidyapith, "the vipers of ill will and anger in our own bosom, but we dare to raise futile discussions about the propriety of killing obnoxious creatures" (p. 225).

The issue was brought to a head by the mercy-killing of an Ashram calf in September. The action raised a local storm that must have put Gandhiji's moral courage to a far severer test than the admission of an untouchable family to the Ashram thirteen years earlier had done. He was inundated with angry letters by outraged correspondents, some of whom, Gandhiji remarked with a touch of unaccustomed sarcasm, "seem to have made the violence of their invective against me a measure of their solicitude for ahimsa" (p. 338). As a seeker after truth, however, he welcomed a public discussion of his views as "likely to throw light on the tangled problem of ahimsa" (p. 339).

Gandhiji was aware that public opinion would not approve of his action, but he knew also that the "pathway of ahimsa, that is, of love, one has often to tread all alone" and that it is only by following the light within that one can know right from wrong (p. 311). The final test of the violence or non-violence of an act, he explained, is "the intent underlying the act" (p. 313). Mercy-killing relieves "the suffering soul within from pain" "by severing from the soul the body that has become an instrument

of torture to it", as a surgical operation does it "by severing the diseased portion from the body" (p. 312). The current view of ahimsa, Gandhiji charged, "has drugged our conscience . . . ; it has made us forget that there may be far more *himsa* in the slow torture of men and animals, the starvation and exploitation to which they are subjected out of selfish greed, the wanton humiliation and oppression of the weak and the killing of their self-respect that we witness all around us today, than in mere benevolent taking of life" (p. 312).

But whereas Gandhiji felt certain about the ethics of mercy-killing, he found the problem of providing an efficacious but non-violent remedy for the growing menace of monkeys in the Ashram orchard and fields more intractable. While he admitted that "any act of injury done from self-interest whether amounting to killing or not is doubtless *himsa*", he recognized the inescapable necessity of a certain measure of *himsa* as long as one lived in the flesh. Society has a standard as to the exact nature and the extent of permissible *himsa*, but "every seeker after truth has to adjust and vary the standard according to his individual need and to make a ceaseless endeavour to reduce the circle of *himsa*" (p. 314). To the argument that a votary of ahimsa should try to avoid direct *himsa* at any rate, even such as is involved in agriculture, Gandhiji replied with unanswerable logic: "The very idea that millions of the sons of the soil should remain steeped in *himsa* in order that a handful of men who live on the toil of these people might be able to practise ahimsa seems to me to be unworthy of and inconsistent with the supreme duty of ahimsa." The virtue of a dharma, he added, is "that it is universal, that its practice is not the monopoly of the few, but must be the privilege of all" (pp. 385-6). And because he believed that the scope of Truth and ahimsa was world-wide, he found "an ineffable joy" in dedicating his life "to researches in truth and ahimsa" and invited others to make similar experiments (p. 386).

These views were not likely to be easily appreciated by the orthodox, some of whom were distressed by them all the more because they genuinely revered Gandhiji as an embodiment of perfect ahimsa. He was glad that his views regarding the calf and the monkeys had shattered their illusion. "Truth to me is infinitely dearer than the 'mahatmaship' which is purely a burden", he declared. "All I claim for myself is that I am ceaselessly trying to understand the implications of great ideals like ahimsa and to practise them in thought, word and deed" (p. 409).

In a speech on the birth anniversary of Tolstoy (10-9-1928),

Gandhiji explained what he had learnt through him, especially through the example of his life. He also told a correspondent that "whilst it is as a general statement quite true that my life is based upon the teachings of the *Gita*, I would not be able to swear that Tolstoy's writings and teachings did not influence my decision about celibacy" (p. 240). In a rare reference to Bolshevism, while Gandhiji disapproved of its reliance on violence for the abolition of private property, he also pointed out that "the Bolshevik ideal has behind it the purest sacrifice of countless men and women who have given up their all for its sake", and that "an ideal that is sanctified by the sacrifices of such master spirits as Lenin cannot go in vain" (p. 380). When questioned about the basis of India's future economic constitution, Gandhiji answered: " . . . everybody should be able to get sufficient work to enable him to make the two ends meet. And this ideal can be universally realized only if the means of production of elementary necessaries of life remain in the control of the masses" (p. 412).

The letters in this volume illustrate, as usual, Gandhiji's capacity for identifying himself with the varied concerns of his correspondents, from a humble teacher seeking Gandhiji's advice whether he should continue to engage himself in the traditional duties of a barber (pp. 141-2) to a national leader like Motilal Nehru sharing his public worries with him. The letters to Motilal reveal Gandhiji's warm regard for him and seem to be addressed to a co-worker who, despite wide differences of outlook, could discuss national problems with him on intimate and equal terms. Another co-worker, in whose personal and family problems Gandhiji took keen interest, was Satis Chandra Das Gupta, a pioneer khadi worker of Bengal. In practically every letter that he wrote to him and his wife, Hemprabha Devi, Gandhiji's concern for them and interest in their affairs is evident. Gandhiji's frankness as well as his attitude to human frailty is brought out in a letter to Shaukat Ali: "I must confess that the only letter of yours to Dr. Ansari that I read, I did not like at all. . . . Why should I worry over what I may hold to be your error, seeing that I err often enough and need the indulgence of friends and foes alike?" (p. 304).

The volume carries the *Young India* article, "God Is", from which, during his stay in London in 1931, Gandhiji recorded his message to America. Here he tried to explain the nature of his faith in God and his views on the existence of evil which God permits though he is untouched by it. "I know too", he declared, "that I shall never know God if I do not wrestle with and against evil even at the cost of life itself" (p. 350).

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji, have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to Volume I of this series are to the revised edition (1969). References to *An Autobiography* cite only the Part and Chapter, in view of the varying pagination in different editions.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

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1. *DRAFT INSCRIPTION FOR JALLIANWALA BAGH MEMORIAL*[1]

This ground was hallowed by the mingled blood of fifteen hundred innocent Sikhs, Mussalmans and Hindus who were martyred by British bullets on 13th April, 1919. The ground was acquired from the owners by public subscriptions.

From a microfilm: S.N. 15369

2. *QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION-V*[2]

Q. 14. Ever since you made your entry into the public life of this country, there has been a tendency to approach you and get your views of a problem whenever a person or persons have been in doubt and have failed to reach a clear-cut conclusion. People are eager to know from you whether a certain thing on a certain occasion is right or not. I am only describing the situation as it really is. It shows that all your activity is basically of a religious nature. Would it be right that, when you are no more, these decisions be delivered by a body of persons by a majority vote if necessary? If not, is it not necessary to create what may prove to be a continuous line of knowledgeable men, versed in the precepts of dharma?

A. I do not deem it worthy that people should approach me and ask me to pronounce judgment on disputable points. It is true that all my activities, whatever their outward form, are fundamentally religious. But the fact that I am asked to pronounce judgment on every disputed matter shows that people have either not understood the principles which I follow in shaping my conduct, or they have doubts about them. And because I am known as a Mahatma or respected as a good man, and our people are credulous and not given to thinking for themselves, they continue to put all forms of questions to me. This may gratify my sense of pride or even help me up to a point in doing my work, but it does not appear to me that it helps in any appreciable way either the

[1] This was an enclosure to "Letter to Mulkaraj", 1-7-1928.

[2] For the earlier questions and answers in this series, *vide* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 360-2, 382-4, 421-3 and 454-8.

people or the questioners. Indeed, I have often felt how nice it would be if I stopped making any pronouncements and did whatever suggested itself to me silently. But in that case I must first stop this weekly that I am now conducting, as also severely cut down much of my present correspondence. That, however, would need a courage which I do not feel within myself. But, there is the great friend of man, the Lord of Death, who can extend his invitation to me at any time and put a stop to all this chatter on my part whether I agree or not.

I do not see any wrong in bodies or associations of men following my principles and giving their opinions on disputed questions by a majority vote when I am no more, or even now whilst I am alive. But as in the case of individuals so also in that of groups they must be inspired by the ideal of dharma.

Q. 15. The education in the Vidyapith is divided into three distinct stages: the primary, the secondary and the higher. How far would it be right to name these respectively as education for the village, education for the city, and education for those who would take up social service work?

A. I do not like the meanings suggested here by the correspondent to the primary, the secondary and the higher education respectively. Why should we want village people to be satisfied merely with primary education? They too have a right to receive secondary and higher education—those of them at least who want it. And the boys in the cities cannot do without primary education. The object of all the three should be the prosperity of the villages.

Q. 16. Why do you always attach so much importance to music?

A. It is sad that the study of music is generally neglected in our country today. Without it, the entire educational system seems to me to be incomplete. Music brings sweetness to the individual and to the social life of the people. Even as *pranayama*[1] is necessary for the regulation of breath, so is music for disciplining the voice. Dissemination of the knowledge of music among the people will greatly help in controlling and stopping the noise which is a usual feature of public meetings in this country. Music pacifies anger and its judicious use is highly helpful in leading a man to the vision of God. It does not mean shouting and shrieking a tune anyhow like a rigmarole, nor does it mean the

[1] Breath-control

singing of stage songs. I have already referred to its ordinary meaning above, but its deeper meaning is that our whole life should be sweet and musical like a song. It goes without saying that life cannot be made like that without the practice of virtues such as truth, honesty, etc. To make life musical means to make it one with God, to merge it in Him. He who has not rid himself of *raga* and *dwesha*, i.e., likes and dislikes, who has not tasted of the joy of service, cannot have any understanding of celestial music. A study of music, which does not take account of this deeper aspect of this divine art, has little or no value for me.

Q. 17. The art of painting means expression of the emotions of the artist through line and colour. If this definition of painting were to be accepted, would you include painting as an essential part of the scheme of national education which should be universally taught to all?

A. I have never disparaged drawing and painting, though I have certainly deprecated the blots of ink and colour passing under its name. I doubt if painting as defined by the artist could be made universal. There is this difference between music and painting: While painting can be learnt only by a few who have a natural aptitude for it, music must be and can be learnt by all. In painting too, drawing of straight lines and the figures of animate and inanimate objects can be taught to all. It is certainly useful and necessary and I want it to be taught to every child before it is taught the alphabet.

Q. 18. Some people are of the view that such subjects as grammar, compound interest, higher geometry, etc., which the learners are apt to forget in after years, should not be included in the courses to be framed for purposes of national education. Do you agree to this? If you do, why should not Urdu also be put in the same category? When Hindus and Muslims feel the urge to come into close contact with each other and to understand each other's culture, then only will the knowledge of Sanskrit and Urdu prove useful and lasting. Knowledge of Urdu will be put to active use and hence increase only when there is respect for and a desire to learn the culture of which Urdu is the vehicle. Until then it is bound to remain no more than a religious rite like the worship of Ganesh—a formal affair without any practical value.

A. I do not understand why grammar, compound interest and higher geometry have all been classed together. I have always

believed that grammar is absolutely necessary for the mastery of a language, and that grammar and higher geometry are highly interesting subjects. Both provide innocent, intellectual entertainment. I will, therefore, accord a place to both these subjects in national education for those who go in for higher education or wish to study the science of language. In the same way, he who wants to be good at accounts cannot do so without learning compound interest. Therefore, all the three things mentioned by the correspondent in the question will have their due place in the syllabus for national education. The point is that there are things which are common to all schemes of education. Today, we have to differentiate between Government education and National education because the former is detrimental to national development. But there are many things in Government schools which will and must also be in our schools. Thus, though there are points of similarity between the two, the atmosphere in Government schools strengthens the bonds of slavery and is used at critical moments to suppress us. Therefore, such schools are to be renounced. Besides, as we have already seen, a portion, at least, of the education imparted there is wholly unnecessary; it is just a burden and nothing more. But I am straying from the subject under discussion. I have thought it fit to offer this clarification under the impression that I might not have grasped the point behind this question.

Urdu stands apart from the above-mentioned subjects; the question of its study must be considered separately. Hindus and Muslims will ultimately unite but in our national schools we must continue to strive unremittingly to bring them closer together. For this, we must acquaint ourselves with each other's religion. If the students forget whatever little of Urdu they learn, evidently they are not serious about its study and must be learning it only because they must. But this can also be said about Hindi. Only God knows how interest in Hindi or Urdu can be created among the students, but there is no doubt in my mind that its knowledge is necessary for the progress of the nation.

Q. 19. Students should have full freedom; there should be nothing which will obstruct their free growth; to achieve this objective the teachers should have no prejudices for or against anything; while they teach they should so conduct themselves as though they have no partiality for any particular rule or habit or principle. This ideal for a teacher is coming to be accepted in many places. Do you accept it?

A. What has been said above can be supported as well as opposed. If it does not help in preserving the real essence, it should be opposed, and if it does help, the students may well be allowed full freedom and the teachers remain as detached and neutral as they like. They may do what they wish with a view to securing the independence of the students, the only condition being that they must mix with the students to the extent of being one of them. In the language of Akha[1], I will say to them:

Live in the world as you like,
But keep constantly before your mind
The aim of attaining to God at any cost.

An ideal teacher never had nor should he ever have any other aim before him.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-7-1928

3. *FAIR DEALING*

Shri Vithaldas Jerajani writes:[2]

Many such instances can be given. It can be proved that this kind of dealing ultimately brings profit to the business man. In spite of that, many business men resort to unfair ways, and fall because of an intense desire to make money. But a khadi worker or a khadi seller must have endless patience. Khadi has no other support except truth, patience and faith. Hence khadi stores should take note of the suggestion made by Shri Jerajani.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-7-1928

[1] Akha Bhagat, a Gujarati poet
[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that a Maratha labourer had purchased a short-sleeved khadi shirt but had come back with it and was readily given a fresh one in exchange. Thereafter, he purchased a khadi coat as well.

4. MY NOTES

Definition Justified

A reader, while sending his criticism of the Satyagraha Ashram regulations[1], suggests the following definition of non-violence:

> Ahimsa means a desire not to hurt anyone, from the tiniest insect to God.

And he suggests the following for self-help:

> One should not needlessly get service from another. One should not needlessly serve another.

The definition that he has given for ahimsa is worth considering. And what he has suggested in respect of self-help, though not pertinent, is proper in these days. Very few have the desire to serve others without any reason and there are not many such occasions too. But the aim here is to put a stop to the giving of alms out of a religious sentiment and to such false service, and that seems but proper.

Professor's Marriage to a Young Girl

A reader writes:[2]

The writer has sent me the name and address of this professor. This is not an easy reform to bring about. The reformer has to make a determined attempt to change the environment wherever possible without distinction of educated and uneducated. We should not feel disheartened about the uneducated if the educated class fails to respond. Wherever possible, it is necessary to arouse public opinion against child-marriages. From such examples, we see every day that modern education has very little to do with spiritual progress. And if we go deeper, we even find that on such matters public opinion is indifferent, and to some extent it even approves of such worthless customs. If that were not so, how would any organization tolerate a man who married a girl fit to be his daughter? And that a professor? Why should students study at all under that type of professor? There are instances

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 398-410.

[2] The letter is not translated here. It cited the case of a professor-widower of 45 who had married a girl of 14, despite his having five children including a married daughter.

of a professor having been boycotted because he had insulted just one student. A professor who contracts child-marriage certainly dishonours students and his own society. But the students, society and all tolerate this outrage. It becomes almost impossible to commit a particular sin if society is not prepared to tolerate it. Therefore, public opinion should be patiently educated against such cruel practices as child-marriage, etc., and where peaceful boycott is possible, that weapon should be used in awakening public opinion. And in accomplishing these tasks if the young people are themselves pure and disciplined, they can help a lot.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-7-1928

5. *A VOLUNTEER'S DILEMMA*

A gentleman writes from Bardoli Satyagraha camp:[1]

The circumstances in which this gentleman is placed confront many in this country. The rule is that one who accepts selfless service as one's duty would sacrifice one's family for its sake. But even though we know this fundamental rule, we do not always find a straight principle to guide us in our conduct. Ordinarily the man oscillates between duty to his family and duty to his country. Under ideal conditions these two duties are not incompatible, but in the present situation we often see only conflict between them. That is so because love of family is based on selfishness and the family members are worshippers of selfishness; therefore, as a normal course it may be suggested that one should plunge into the service of the country after providing for the needs of the family in accordance with the poor living conditions in India. No one can serve the nation by leaving the family to fend for itself. But what can be called a family? And even in a family, who is to be maintained? This article is not meant for him who deceives himself by regarding all his fellow-castemen as his family. Nor is it meant for him who wishes to feed the able-bodied members of the family who sit at home. He who wishes to serve the country will continue his work by remaining above reproach in such matters. It is my experience

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked what would happen to his dependants, if he took up national work or joined the satyagraha fight without a wage. For a summary of the Bardoli case, *vide* Vol. XXXVI, Appendix III.

that the families of such people do not have to starve. It is the right of those who are engaged in the service of the nation to earn enough to meet their needs; and by virtue of that right hundreds of sefless workers support themselves and their dependants.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-7-1928

6. A TRUE WORKER[1]

In the death of Pandit Gopabandhu Das, India and especially Utkal has lost a true and sincere worker. He was a gem of Orissa. When ten years ago, Shri Amritlal Thakkar had gone to Utkal to help during the famine, he used to write from time to time about the high-mindedness of Babu Gopabandhu Das and his unceasing labours and love for the people. During the days of Non-co-operation, Gopabandhu Babu was a member of the Legislative Assembly and used to practise law. Instead of accumulating wealth through his profession he founded a school in Sakhigopal which, although popular, had connections with the Government. He fully appreciated the principle of non-co-operation and severed its connections with the Government. He gave up his legal practice and accepted a life of utter poverty; he also resigned from the Legislative Council. It was not difficult for him to give up both these; it was, however, a great sacrifice on his part to sever the connections of his most cherished school (which had truth for its motto) with the Government and jeopardize its very existence, disregarding the warning given by his friends. Yet, never have I known him to have a thought of regret for what he had done. Once when the school was almost without any students, the pressure from his friends almost weakened him. He once again applied to the Government to restore the school's affiliation, but when the Government laid down compromising conditions, he at once repented his weakness in making the petition. The Government, by offering such terms, proved its own unworthiness and spared Gopabandhu Babu an undesirable relationship, for which he was grateful to God. The weakness of those who have a simple and pure heart sometimes proves to be their strength. And so it was with Gopabandhu Babu's weakness. When he spoke about this to me, on the one hand I could see in his eyes and in his speech, his love

[1] *Vide* also Vol. XXXVI, pp. 443-4.

for his beloved school and, on the other, his extremely candid admission of weakness. This combination appeared to lend him splendour. And when last year he took me to Sakhigopal during our tour of Utkal, it pained me to see the large buildings of the school, set in a beautiful grove, now in ruins. But I saw no sign of despondency in him. He had, during the last four years, realized the great value of khadi in eliminating the poverty of Utkal. He was doing khadi work and discussed with me how to give it greater impetus. Gopabandhu Babu had joined Lalaji's Servants of the People Society and was its Vice-President. Let us hope the social workers in Utkal will take up the work of Gopabandhu Babu. The noble live beyond their death, while others are as good as dead even while living. We do but grieve over the physical disintegration of saintly persons like Gopabandhu Babu because we look at it from a selfish point of view; but such separations should not pain those who can see with a clear vision that God is not without mercy and dispenses justice. We cannot follow their purity during their lifetime. But we ought to obtain such strength by remembering, in the true sense, his virtues. We find this happening in innumerable instances. That is why we shed the fear and sorrow of death when free from delusion and thus prove the immortality of the soul.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-7-1928

7. *MESSAGE TO BROACH DISTRICT CONFERENCE*[1]

[*July 1, 1928*]

Those who help Bardoli, help themselves.

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-7-1928

[1] Held on July 1. K. F. Nariman presided; Vallabhbhai Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj, Abbas Tyabji and H. J. Amin were among those present. The report adds: "The Conference passed several resolutions supporting the cause of the people of Bardoli, congratulating the people of that taluk for putting up a strong fight in what they believed to be a matter of principle, exhorting the people of Broach not to buy any lands confiscated by the Government, congratulating those members of the Bombay Legislative Council who resigned on the Bardoli issue and calling upon the Hon. Dewan Bahadur Harilal Desai, the Hon. Dehlavi, the Hon. Sir Chunilal Mehta and the Thakore Saheb of Kerwada to resign."

8. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 1, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your letters. Sushila believes that she is not fit to write to me. Anyone who sincerely admits in this manner his or her unfitness will strive to the utmost to become fit. I wrote[1] to you rebuking you about the money which you owe to this place. That letter of mine you must have got during the same week in which you wrote to me about it. I had already written by then what I wish I did not have to. I should like you to become vigilant.

Even an ordinary person should observe certain proprieties.

Everyone here is all right.

I dictate this letter at four in the morning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4740

9. LETTER TO GOVARDHANBHAI I. PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 1, 1928

DEAR GOVARDHANBHAI,

I have your letter[2]. I really do not see that I had added any new conditions. I have told you that what you have stated in your letter might be re-put in my language. If the donors wish the Committee of Inspection to have absolute powers,[3] I do not mind that at all.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GOVARDHANBHAI I. PATEL
LALAVASA'S STREET, SANKADI SHERI, AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 13446

[1] On June 19; *vide* Vol. XXXVI, p. 431.

[2] Dated June 29, this was in reply to Gandhiji's letter of June 27; *vide* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 466-7.

[3] Govardhanbhai had written: "It would not be obligatory for the Committee [of Inspection of Labour Schools] to refer to the donors their suggestions, etc., before asking the Labour Union to comply with them . . . " (S.N. 13442).

10. LETTER TO R. M. DESHMUKH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 1, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 23rd June.

The suggestion[1] you make does not appear to me to be practicable. Experience has taught khadi workers that unless hand-spinning is organized by experts, it will fail. The Association will not be able to take up any yarn that may be offered to it. It can only take hand-spun yarn that is tested, that is fairly even and therefore yarn that is wound according to the instructions. And I do not think that you will be able to offer to the Association hand-spun yarn that would satisfy these conditions. Moreover if you expect to popularize hand-spinning by sporadic effort and propaganda, it will fail. I therefore suggest to you that you examine the conditions under which the thing is being organized in Mysore and take up hand-spinning after the Mysore style. The special feature of that organization is that a certain district has been handed over to the Association for organization. The organization is financed by the Mysore State. Whether, if you make any such offer to the Association, it can take up or not is a question I have not yet examined nor does the occasion for examination arise until you have any concrete proposal.

Yours sincerely,

HON. R. M. DESHMUKH
MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE, CENTRAL PROVINCES, NAGPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13631-A

[1] Explaining the difficulties in marketing hand-spun yarn, Deshmukh had suggested in his letter (S.N. 13627) that in order to enable the Co-operative Department to make hand-spinning a subsidiary industry in Central Provinces, the All-India Spinners' Association, rather than the Central Banks, should undertake to purchase all such yarn as the members of the co-operative societies produced.

11. LETTER TO MULKARAJ

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 1, 1928

DEAR LALA MULKARAJ,

I have your two letters, one being a copy of your letter to Pandit Malaviyaji regarding the misunderstanding[1] that has arisen between the Sikhs and the Committee[2]. My advice is that you should promptly and finally deal with this matter. And I do not think that merely fencing[3] will set the matter right, though I agree that fencing is a necessity. There must be a proper and satisfactory settlement of this matter between the Sikhs and the Committee.

With reference to the second letter, I enclose herewith my draft of the inscription[4] to be put on the tablet.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. LALA MULKARAJ
SECRETARY, JALLIANWALA BAGH MEMORIAL FUND, AMRITSAR

From a microfilm: S.N. 15369

12. LETTER TO SHAH MOHAMMED QASIM[5]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 1, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is not possible for me to notice your letter in *Young India* without verification. I am now making inquiries[6] and if I feel that publication of your letter or dealing

[1] About the boundary line

[2] Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund Committee

[3] An iron fencing of the Jallianwala Bagh memorial ground from where bamboo *jafris* erected by the Committee had been forcibly removed by some Akalis and others (S.N. 15367)

[4] *Vide* "Draft Inscription for Jallianwala Bagh Memorial", 1-7-1928.

[5] In reply to his letter dated June 9, 1928, complaining that the Muslims of Jodhpur had not been allowed to sacrifice goats on the Id Day.

[6] *Vide* the following item.

with it in any way will serve any useful purpose, I shall certainly write about it.[1]

Yours sincerely,

SHAH MD. QASIM SAHEB
C/o SYED MD. HUSSAIN, P.O. NURHUT (GAYA)

From a microfilm S.N. 12395-A

13. LETTER TO SECRETARY, JODHPUR STATE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 1, 1928

DEAR SIR,

The enclosed letter[2] has been received by me for publication. But before I do so, I should like to have a reply to the letter on behalf of the State. I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me have a brief reply.[3]

Please return the letter at the time of acknowledgment.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: 10 sheets

From a microfilm: S.N. 12396

14. TELEGRAM TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

SABARMATI,
July 2, 1928

JAMNADAS GANDHI
OPPOSITE MIDDLE SCHOOL, RAJKOT

COME IMMEDIATELY FOR TWO DAYS.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 8698. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Shah Mohammed Qasim", 11-7-1928.

[2] *Vide* footnote 5 on the preceding page.

[3] In his letter dated July 5, 1928, the Secretary wrote: "Against the standing orders of the State a sacrificial he-goat was taken by a couple of Mohammedans through an open street populated by orthodox Hindus. It has been an old practice with Hindus in the State to take hold of sacrificial he-goats when they are taken out openly through their headquarters, make them *Amar* by putting iron rings in their ears and maintain them for their lives. That

15. LETTER TO BECHAR PARMAR

July 2, 1928

BHAISHRI BECHAR PARMAR,

The drawbacks which you think belong to the barber's profession are probably to be found in all professions. If everyone, however, clings to his own profession for a living, there would be minimum friction.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5567

16. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN PATHAK

July 2, 1928

BHAI RAMNARAYAN,

I have preserved your letter of April 18 till this day with the idea of writing to you when I got a little time. I certainly felt unhappy at your leaving the Vidyapith[1]. I do believe, however, that though you have given up direct connection with it, you will always help as much as you can an institution which you have served. I trust you are keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6110

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he-goat was thus taken possession of by the Hindus, made *Amar* and made over to the Police for protection because Mohammedans got excited over their religious conduct. The Police kept the he-goat in the City Police Station but the Mohammedans numbering about 3,000 besieged that place and demanded the animal back by show of criminal force. The assailants scaled the walls of the Police Station with lathis and swords in their hands and were about to attack the Police when Military was called who dispersed them. No casualty happened" (S.N. 12397-A).

[1] Gujarat Vidyapith

17. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

July 2, 1928

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

Your letter and the *hundi*[1] for Rs. 2,700 have been received. I am in touch with China no doubt but I am not inclined to send them a wire. It would smack somewhat of arrogance. I intend to visit China if I live long enough. They want to invite me after things have cooled down a bit.

I always shrink from asking for financial assistance from you and your brothers because you give me whatever I ask for. I understand [what you say] about Dakshinamurti. The fact is that there are plenty of worthy causes in the country but not so many donors. A good cause is not held up but enough new donors are not forthcoming. Fresh tasks are always mounting.

You are right in saying that the value of the Ashram rules depends only upon those who follow the rules. The money has been sent to the Austrian friends[2].

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 6158. Courtesy: G.D. Birla

18. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 3, 1928

BHAISHRI BEHRAMJI,

I did get your letter about Maganlal. I have ceased to think about his death.[3] His soul is present and working in the Ashram

[1] Bill of exchange

[2] Frederic and Francisca Standenath; *vide* Vol. XXXVI, p. 430.

[3] Maganlal Gandhi passed away on April 23, 1928; *vide* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 261-3.

even today. Try and improve your health vastly. Remain cheerful both of you.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRIYUT BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA
LIFE'S NATURE CURE HEALTH HOUSE, ENGLAND

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 4370. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

19. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 3, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letters. You have given a good description of the celebration there, but you could have given a still better one. You did well in narrating the whole story to Devsharmaji. Here, too, the position about rain is the same. There has been only one shower so far—it was yesterday—and even that was not sufficient for farmers to start sowing.

Mahadev seems likely to recover and be on his feet in a day or two now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 481. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

20. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 4, 1928

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. What are these two parties over the separation of Sind? I mean Jethmal[1] and others on the one hand and Jairamdas[2] and company on the other? Which are the newspapers you refer to?

You think that it is enough, if the dowry is limited instead

[1] Jethmal Parasram
[2] Jairamdas Daulatram

of being unlimited. And what about the poor parents who can't pay Rs. 3,000, the lowest figure mentioned by you?

Please congratulate on my behalf the girls who are helping you in khadi-hawking. It certainly requires special bravery on the part of a Sindhi girl to wear khadi in Hyderabad and then to hawk it.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 887

21. LETTER TO SRI PRAKASA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 4, 1928

MY DEAR SRI PRAKASA,

I have your letter. Do please come whenever you can. I am not likely to move out of the Ashram for some months yet.

I am dividing your cheque equally between Maganlal Memorial and Bardoli.

I am delighted that you have at last joined the Association. I shouldn't be content till you belong to the "A" class. "B" class is certainly not for such as you.[1]

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13450

22. LETTER TO B. W. TUCKER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Surely there was nothing in your previous letters to be ashamed of. Though I could not accept your judgment[2], I certainly appreciate the affection underlying your criti-

[1] The reference is to the All-India Spinners' Association. According to its Constitution, "A class shall consist of persons . . . who deposit regularly from month to month . . . 1,000 yards of self-spun yarn", and the B class of those "who pay an annual subscription of 2,000 yards of self-spun yarn . . . " *Vide* Vol. XXVIII, pp. 229-30.

[2] Tucker, an American Missionary of a Calcutta school, had written in his letter (S.N. 13440) dated June 28: "I have been heartily ashamed of the

cism. The attitude[1] that you have taken up with the Depu Commissioner appears to me to be correct. Indeed the conduct of foreign missions in India does not in any way appeal to me. It is more expedient and mundane than correct and religious. How can a religious body accept the terms that have been imposed upon foreign missions? The English missionary effort is frankly political. It is in alliance with the Government and takes its code of conduct generally from the Government. Such at any rate is my reading. I expect that one of the reasons which determined Andrews[2] in giving up the Cambridge Mission was its over-secularity. But here too I write under correction. My own judgment is wholly independent of Andrews's attitude. The present crisis that has overtaken you, I, therefore, regard as a blessing in disguise. And if you have the conviction and the strength, you will sever your connection once for all. And, in my opinion, you will be all the fitter for becoming a messenger of Truth.

I understand what you say about my proposed visit to the West.[3] If the external circumstances are favourable and if I keep good health, I hope to go next year.

Yours sincerely,

REVEREND B. W. TUCKER
"THE MANSE", DARJEELING

From a photostat: S.N. 13451

critical attitude . . . those criticisms were most of them the products of the weaker side of my nature and an effort to justify some of my attitudes about which I have much uncertainty in my own mind and heart. . . ."

[1] Tucker had written: "I was utterly astonished when I met Mr. Wares [Deputy Commissioner] to have him tell me that the offence which I had committed was that I had attended political meetings . . . that attendance at such meetings was a violation of the undertaking which the Board of Foreign Missions in America had given on behalf of its missionaries . . . if I did not cease attending such meetings . . . our school in Calcutta . . . would lose the Rs. 175 per month of grant from the Government and that the Government would complain . . . to the Missionary Board . . . to withdraw me. . . . I have already communicated the report to Bishop Fisher and the Secretary of the Board in America, and have told them that I have no inclination to accept this order. If they insist that I conform to the demand of the Government, there is no honourable course for me to take but to resign as a missionary of the Board. . . ."

[2] C. F. Andrews

[3] Tucker had written: "I agree with your plan not to deliver public lectures but only to meet selected individuals and groups. It will not only save you from the severe strain . . . but it will also enable you to make your message and personality felt in larger measure. . ."

23. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 4, 1928

MY DEAR PROFULLA BABU,

I have read the resolution[1] you have sent me. It does not betray either humility or the khadi spirit. I do not know what is humiliating in the letter written by Jamnalalji of which you have sent me a copy. Do you notice any humiliation in the language of the letter or do you derive it from the statement made in the letter? I do not nowadays know what is being done at the Council meetings. I therefore know nothing about the sanction of the ten thousand rupees, except that I might have noticed it when the resolutions were sent to me in due course. But I have no recollection now. Jamnalalji is not at the Ashram. But reading the letter as an outsider, I can see nothing wrong either about its manner or its matter. Supposing that nothing had been collected and that all the ninety thousand rupees had only remained as promises, could Jamnalalji have given you ten thousand rupees? I know this that at the present moment the Association has not any surplus funds. I should expect you to be careful, patient and not distrustful. After all the Council has no easy job before it to manage. Instead of passing resolutions in condemnation of the Council you should have appreciated its difficulty and corrected its error where it might have been found to be in error. If I were you, I should withdraw the resolution without being asked. But, if you feel that you no longer need any assistance and if you feel unconvinced that you have been hasty in your judgment, you will of course stick to your resolution.

Yours sincerely,

DR. P. C. GHOSH
SECRETARY, ABHOY ASHRAM, COMILLA

From a photostat: S.N. 13631-B

[1] "Whereas the letter dated Bombay, the 13th June 1928, of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, the acting President, A.I.S.A., over the loan of Rs. 10,000 sanctioned in its Council meeting at Bashirhat is in contravention of the spirit with which the resolution was adopted in the aforesaid meeting and whereas the treatment accorded to us is humiliating and whereas injustice has been done

24. LETTER TO MASOOD JUNG BAHADUR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for a copy of your Convocation Address at the Karve University. I had the cutting made for me from the papers which contained extracts from it and you might have noticed in *Young India* I have already dealt with the subject-matter[1] of your address. I shall now give myself the pleasure of reading it through as soon as I find a few spare moments.

Yours sincerely,

NAWAB MASOOD JUNG BAHADUR
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
H.E.H. NIZAM'S GOVERNMENT, HYDERABAD, DECCAN

From a photostat: S.N. 13449

25. THE CURSE OF FOREIGN MEDIUM

The spirited plea on behalf of the vernaculars as media of instruction of Nawab Masood Jung Bahadur, Director of Public Instruction, Hyderabad State, recently delivered at the Karve University for Women, has evoked a reply in *The Times of India* from which a friend sends the following extracts for me to answer:

> Whatever is valuable and fruitful in their writings is directly or indirectly the result of Western culture . . . Instead of sixty, we can go back a hundred years and yet say that from Raja Ram Mohan Roy down to Mahatma Gandhi, every one of the Indians who have achieved anything worth mentioning in any direction was or is the fruit directly or indirectly, of Western education.

In these extracts what is considered is not the value of English as the medium of higher instruction in India but the im-

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to us in the past and is being done even now, this meeting of the members of the Abhoy Ashram resolves that the said loan of Rs. 10,000 be refused with regret and that no further loan be taken from the A.I.S.A. in future" (S.N. 14448).

[1] *Vide* the following item.

portance and influence of Western culture to and on the persons mentioned. Neither the Nawab nor anyone else has disputed the importance or the influence of Western culture. What is resented is the sacrifice of Indian or Eastern culture on the altar of the Western. Even if it could be proved that Western culture was superior to Eastern, it would be injurious to India as a whole for her most promising sons and daughters to be brought up in Western culture and thus become denationalized and torn from the people.

In my opinion, whatever reaction for the better the persons named in the extracts had upon the people at large was due to the extent they retained their Eastern culture in spite of the adverse influence of the Western. I regard as adverse the influence of Western culture in this connection in the sense in which it interfered with the full effect that the best in Eastern culture might have produced on them. Of myself whilst I have freely acknowledged my debt to Western culture, I can say that whatever service I have been able to render to the nation has been due *entirely* to the retention by me of Eastern culture to the extent it has been possible. I should have been thoroughly useless to the masses as an Anglicized, denationalized being knowing little of, caring less for and perhaps even despising their ways, habits, thoughts and aspirations. It is difficult to estimate the loss of energy caused to the nation by her children being obliged to resist the encroachments of a culture which, however good in itself, was unsuited for them whilst they had not imbibed and become rooted in their own.

Examine the question synthetically. Would Chaitanya, Nanak, Kabir, Tulsidas and a host of other reformers have done better if they had been attached from their childhood to the most efficiently managed English schools? Have the men named by the writer of the article in question done better than these great reformers? Would Dayanand have done better if he had become an M.A. of an Indian university? Where is among the easy-going, ease-loving, English-speaking rajas and maharajas brought from their infancy under the influence of Western culture one who could be named in the same breath as Shivaji who braved all perils and shared the simple life of his hardy men? Are they better rulers than Pratap the intrepid? Are they good specimens of Western culture, these Neros who are fiddling in London and Paris whilst their Romes are burning? There is nothing to be proud of in their culture which has made them foreigners in their own land and which has taught them to prefer to waste the sub-

stance of their ryots and their own souls in Europe to sharing the happiness and miseries of those over whom they are called by a higher Power to rule.

But the point at issue is not Western culture. The point at issue is the medium of instruction. But for the fact that the only higher education, the only education worth the name, has been received by us through the English medium, there would be no need to prove such a self-evident proposition that the youth of a nation to remain a nation must receive all instruction including the highest in its own vernacular or vernaculars. Surely, it is a self-demonstrated proposition that the youth of a nation cannot keep or establish a living contact with the masses unless their knowledge is received and assimilated through a medium understood by the people. Who can calculate the immeasurable loss sustained by the nation owing to thousands of its young men having been obliged to waste years in mastering a foreign language and its idiom of which in their daily life they have the least use and in learning which they had to neglect their own mother tongue and their own literature? There never was a greater superstition than that a particular language can be incapable of expansion or expressing abstruse or scientific ideas. A language is an exact reflection of the character and growth of its speakers.

Among the many evils of foreign rule this blighting imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of the country will be counted by history as one of the greatest. It has sapped the energy of the nation, it has shortened the lives of the pupils, it has estranged them from the masses, it has made education unnecessarily expensive. If this process is still persisted in, it bids fair to rob the nation of its soul. The sooner therefore educated India shakes itself free from the hypnotic spell of the foreign medium, the better it would be for them and the people.

Young India, 5-7-1928

26. OUR TOBACCO BILL

A correspondent who is interested in a variety of reforms asks what the nation pays for her tobacco bill. I find that we pay for unmanufactured tobacco and cigarettes 213 lakhs of rupees per year. The cost is increasing every year. The import of unmanufactured tobacco which was 1½ million lb. in 1923 rose to 5 million in 1927. There was a corresponding increase in the import of cigarettes. If the references I have consulted are reliable, we do not export any of our own tobacco. Therefore the value of that considerable crop has to be added to the figures quoted above. If every smoker stopped the dirty habit, refused to make of his mouth a chimney, to foul his breath, damage his teeth and dull his sense of delicate discrimination and made a present of his savings to some national cause, he would benefit both himself and the nation.

Young India, 5-7-1928

27. AN AMERICAN TRIBUTE

One of the many American friends who visit and sometimes stay at the Ashram writes thus[1] to Mrs. Maganlal Gandhi:

> The memory of the two days I spent in 1925 at the Ashram, and particularly, in your hospitable home, stays with me like a benediction. . . . Mr. Maganlal Gandhi, whom I have always considered one of the rarest and most beautiful souls I ever met. Though so true an Indian, he had a sympathy and understanding broad as life itself. He seemed the very embodiment of that spirit of satyagraha which I had come to know through the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, in *Young India*. Strength, purity and sweetness radiated from him like perfume from a flower. . . .
>
> One felt in his presence . . . that every gift, every ability, every part of his being had been laid upon the altar, consecrated to God for the highest purpose to which man as a human being can aspire. Not that he talked religion or stressed piety — even the tone of his voice showed the same, practical, efficient man of affairs that he was about the Ashram; but religion was the spring from which the current of his life flowed, and the sanctity which emanated from his presence was the sanctity

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

that comes from surrender of self—the constant habit and purpose of living and doing for others. . . .

It was worth going round the world to have met him alone, when one considers all that his life means to India from the support which he gave and still continues to give to the work of the great Mahatmaji.

But I am well aware that words of commendation for the dear departed, whatever their sincerity, or the sympathy they seek to convey, are of little avail in assuaging grief like yours. I must remind you, however, that the potency for good of a soul like that of Mr. Maganlal Gandhi cannot wholly leave the sphere of its usefulness here on earth. It abides in a thousand tangible ways and will be there to comfort you, even though the bodily form be removed by death. But more truly than in any other way he will be with you in your children — your two beautiful daughters and your son, who will take up the work and carry it on — the great work to which the life of your revered husband was so nobly consecrated.

Young India, 5-7-1928

28. LETTER TO BHUPEN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 5, 1928

MY DEAR BHUPEN,

I had your letter enclosing a cheque for Bardoli fight.

You remind me that you have received no acknowledgment of your previous letters. The fact is I am terribly in arrears with reference to my correspondence. And even today I had to make a search in the file and take your letter out of the order in which the letters are lying and in which I am dealing with them in order to be able to reply to you. I hope to write something about the Santhals in *Young India*. Don't ask me to do anything beyond that. I must not give you a letter to the Birlas, nor am I able to do anything else whilst I am buried in the Ashram where I must remain buried for the time being.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13454

29. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

July 5, 1928

Why do you take the injustices being done in the world to be injustice? Doesn't the world itself mean selfishness? How can it go on without selfishness? It is in such a world that the *Gita* teaches us to be detached. Why do you expect selfishness to be considerate to victims of tuberculosis or similar diseases? But need I talk wisdom to you? What surprises me is that you felt hurt by the attitude adopted by the owner of the bungalow towards you.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 94

30. *MESSAGE TO "THE HINDU"*[1]

July 6, 1928

I gladly add mine to the many tributes that will be paid to *The Hindu* on its Golden Jubilee. I consider *The Hindu* to be one of the best, if not the best, among the Indian owned dailies throughout India.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13456

[1] For its Golden Jubilee Commemoration Number, October 4, 1928

31. LETTER TO A. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 6, 1928

MY DEAR RANGASWAMY,

Here is my humble message[1] for the Jubilee Souvenir Number.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. A. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR
"THE HINDU" OFFICE, MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 13457

32. LETTER TO E. C. DEWICK

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your cordial letter. As owing to the death of Maganlal Gandhi all my plans have become upset, I am not sure whether I would be able to attend the Federation meeting in Mysore. But I will not finally make up my mind against the idea of going to Mysore.

Yours sincerely,

REV. E. C. DEWICK
2 INFANTRY ROAD, BANGALORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13455

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

33. LETTER TO P. RAMACHANDRA RAO

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You will see the constitution and rules of the Ashram in *Young India* of June 14th.[1] Much as I should like to have your daughter in the Ashram, I very much fear that she won't be able to stand the comparatively rigorous life that is being led at the Ashram. Then she would be terribly handicapped for want of knowledge of Hindi. She will have nobody to talk to in English or Kanarese. And then there is not that literary atmosphere about the Ashram which your daughter might crave for. There is a studious attempt to create an atmosphere of labour in the Ashram. Lastly you will notice from the Ashram rules that as we have made great changes, the desire is not to take new admissions for one year. Some time is required for settling down.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. RAMACHANDRA RAO
CLOTH MERCHANT
TUMKUR (MYSORE STATE)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13458

34. LETTER TO M. P. SRINIVASAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. In my opinion, you are not bound to marry against your will, even to please your parents. But you are bound to vacate the house if your father is so desirous. Obedience to parents has well-defined limits. Disobedience becomes a virtue when the orders are repugnant to the moral code.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 398-410.

I do not know of any book on fasting that can be of any use to you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. M. P. SRINIVASAN
SUB-EDITOR, TAMIL "SWARAJYA"
2 VALLABHA AGRAHARAM, TIRUVATEESVARANPET
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 13459

35. LETTER TO SAMANDLAL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. As the Ashram is just now undergoing many changes, the Committee of Management has thought it desirable to restrict for the time being even temporary admissions as far as possible and since your main object is to learn spinning, I can tell you that you will be able to learn it easily in Madras as you will find many there to help you.

Yours sincerely,

BABU SAMANDLAL
C/o SJT. M. G. KARNIKAR
90 IMALI BAZAAR, INDORE (HOLKAR STATE)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13461

36. LETTER TO M. M. ASLAM KHAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You will please excuse me for not being able to give you anything. Without knowing a magazine, it is very difficult for me to frame anything be it ever so short.

Yours sincerely,

M. M. ASLAM KHAN
SUFI MANZIL, PINDI BAHAUDDIN, PUNJAB

From a microfilm: S.N. 13462

37. LETTER TO ANAND SWARUP

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Permission has already been granted for translations of "My Experiments with Truth" in Urdu and Hindi.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. ANAND SWARUP
ADVOCATE, H.C., SAHARANPUR, U.P.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13463

38. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 6, 1928

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

I have had a full chat with Dr. Zakir Husain. The position is certainly very precarious. The liabilities are accumulating and the money collected for the Jamia Millia Fund cannot be released till a proper trust-deed is made, which is the condition in the original announcement. The constitution framed is acceptable neither to Jamnalalji nor to me, nor is it in accordance with the terms we discussed when you were here. What is to be done in the circumstances? I feel that the new Committee should surrender all the powers to the professors who have pledged themselves to become life-workers, or the Committee should become an active working body and take charge of the institution so far as the financial liabilities are concerned. But from what Dr. Zakir Husain tells me and from what I can see for myself, the Committee will not act swiftly and effectively. And if it neither acts nor surrenders full control to the working professors, I can see nothing but a lingering death for the Jamia and that would be a terrible tragedy. One would not mind it if it was inevitable. What should happen to the Ajmal Jamia Fund collected up to now is difficult to say. If a trust-deed acceptable to us four collectors cannot be made, the only way possible in order to release the

fund is to publish the constitution that has been framed and call upon the donors to signify their wish whether they want their donations to be given to the Committee under the constitution. Of course, this is a most unsatisfactory thing and hardly a step that can be taken, if we will cherish the memory of Hakim Saheb[1] and value the good of the Jamia. Is it then not possible to give the full control to the working professors and then they can frame a proper trust-deed and release the fund already collected and make an effort to collect more?

Yours sincerely,

DR. M. A. ANSARI
1 DARYAGUNJ, DELHI

PS.

Dr. Zakir reminds me that I have said nothing in this letter about the time-limit. Time in this case is of the essence. I therefore hope that you will come to some definite conclusion long before so that there may be either a decent burial to the Jamia or that the Jamia may resume its work with some degree of safety.

From a microfilm: S.N. 14930

39. LETTER TO R. S. KADKIA

July 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is not possible to give you a detailed reply to all the questions you have put, but it is possible to give you a general reply, namely, that wherever you can curtail your requirements so as to bring yourself to a level with the poor you should do so, and, in considering your requirements, you should as a rule decide against yourself. And if you do so, you are likely to reach the real minimum.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. S. KADKIA
CONGRESS OFFICE, HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a photostat: S.N. 13460

[1] Ajmal Khan

40. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI[1]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 6, 1928

DEAR BROTHER,

I got your letter after the Governor of Kabul had already seen me. We had a very affectionate and cordial interview. I was however sorry that I did not know of his coming beforehand.

I enclose herewith a copy of my letter[2] to Dr. Ansari. It speaks for itself. Dr. Zakir Husain has seen it and he agrees with its terms.

Yours sincerely,

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI
CENTRAL KHILAFAT COMMITTEE, DONGRI, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13465

41. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 7, 1928

CHI VAUSMATI,

I get your letters regularly. I see that it is a difficult task to persuade the people there to improve the cleanliness. How can anything be done in a matter like this so long as the head of the institution is not keen about it? All the same, you should slowly try to bring about changes in a manner which will cause no friction. You should never get upset, but should show infinite patience.

You must have come to know that Prabhavati fasted for four days to cure her rheumatism. It is impossible to say yet whether the rheumatism has disappeared.

[1] In reply to his letter dated July 3, requesting Gandhiji to meet Ali Ahmed Khan, Governor of Kabul

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. M. A. Ansari", 6-7-1928.

A prolonged discussion is going on regarding the common kitchen.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN
KANYA GURUKULA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 482. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

42. *LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 7, 1928

BHAI HARIBHAU,

Read the accompanying letter and let me know what truth it contains. The correspondent has told the story about Bihar, but it concerns Rajputana. Probably, therefore, you will be able to say more about it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6060. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

43. *MONKEY NUISANCE*

A reader writes to say:[1]

This problem is worth giving a thought to. It is not only farmers who are harassed by monkeys. In places like Prayag, Vrindavan, etc., monkeys harass even the citizens a great deal. People who are thus troubled would not be displeased if the animals were killed or removed by someone.

Although I thus admit that monkeys are a nuisance, I cannot immediately suggest the remedy of killing them.

There can be no comparison between a rabid dog and monkeys. The former is bound to die from the disease itself. Anyone who kills it saves it from the torture and spares others the danger of contracting the disease while in the case of monkeys, there is no question of doing good to them by killing them.

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked Gandhiji whether monkeys might be killed in the same way as rabid dogs.

Again, it is not as if the nuisance of monkeys cannot be prevented without killing them.

It is often seen that, wherever there is this monkey nuisance the fault lies with us. Monkeys are petted, they are given food and are treated in many ways which encourage them to take liberties with us. Monkeys are a very intelligent species. They understand us immediately. I had seen in Vrindavan that in an Indian locality they would fearlessly continue to destroy things, while in the area occupied by Europeans there is no trace of monkeys because they are afraid that they would get a beating if they went there. The threat of beating is also a form of violence. There is no need to concern ourselves here in solving that complex problem. The question is only whether or not monkeys can be saved from the final form of violence—that of killing. I feel that so long as the situation is under our control, we may perhaps be able to spare them capital punishment.

Readers must know that nowadays trade in monkeys is being carried on on a large scale. Thousands of monkeys are exported to Europe for making various kinds of experiments on them and in fact many cruel experiments are made on them before they are killed. Therefore, it is but proper to adopt whatever measures we can to prevent an increase in their number.

Now remains the question of death penalty. I realize that, if it is our dharma to protect fields and, if there is no other way of protecting these from the nuisance of monkeys, then the necessity to kill them does arise. But that is not non-violence. The slaughter of animals even for the sake of saving fields involves violence. That some such forms of violence are part and parcel of human life and are unavoidable is a fact that we encounter at every step. It is difficult to say when the killing of monkeys becomes actually inescapable, but it is not difficult to find out ways to spare ourselves this slaughter. If in spite of those remedies the nuisance does not diminish, each should work out his own dharma. There can be no uniform general rule for the killing of monkeys. Violence is never an independent dharma. There is only one such dharma and that is non-violence. Violence is a measure of the degradation of man; non-violence is his highest achievement.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 8-7-1928

44. *MY NOTES*

Students' Sacrifice

Students are contributing to the Bardoli Satyagraha Fund by saving money on their food and clothing and by working; that is a good sign. One more example of such sacrifice is that of the students of the Kutchi Visa Oswal Jain Hostel. They have informed me that they had stopped drinking milk for a month and thus saved Rs. 220, which amount their association has donated to the Fund. For this sacrifice the students deserve thanks and the Bardoli satyagrahis should note that, having accepted such sacrificial help, they have a duty to adhere more firmly to their pledge. It is no exaggeration to say that, at present, the honour of India rests in their hands.

What Should Students Do?

Three students write to say: "We wish to serve the country. Do please let us know through *Navajivan* how we can do this while continuing our studies and remaining where we are". These students have sent their names, addresses and age, and add: "Do not publish our names and addresses, etc. Don't even write to us. We are not even in a position to receive your letters." It is difficult to give advice to such students. What advice can be given to those who cannot even receive a reply to their own letters? Nevertheless, this much can be said that purity of soul is itself a good service to the country. Have these students acquired purity of soul? Is their heart pure? Have they been able to stay away from the polluted atmosphere prevalent amongst students? Do they practise truth, etc.? The very fact that they are unwilling to receive a reply implies that something is amiss. Students should learn to shed such fears. They should learn to put forward their views before elders with boldness and determination. Do students wear khadi? Do they spin? They are taking part in national service even if they do this. Do they serve a sick neighbour in their free time? Do they spare some time to clean up, by their own efforts, any filth in their neighbourhood? Many such questions can be asked, and if students can answer them satisfactorily, even today they will have a place of honour among public servants.

Marriage of Old with Young

Last week I had to tell the story of a professor's marriage with a young girl.[1] This week some Bhatia friends have written to me about the marriage of a wealthy Bhatia. This octogenarian has got married to a young girl by giving Rs. 25,000 or 30,000 to her father. In this marriage, it is difficult to say who is more to blame—the eighty-year-old man who has married for the fifth time a young girl or the father who for greed of money has sold off his daughter like a helpless cow being sent to a slaughter house. I have heard that some Bhatia gentlemen made efforts to thwart this greed, but the eighty-year-old bridegroom, proud of his wealth, turned them out.

Only last week, I thought out the remedy to prevent such cruelty. I can think of no other method but creating non-violent public opinion and non-violent boycott. And this would mean not only boycott by the caste, but by the whole society. All relations with such people should be severed, except when helping them when they need food, or during illness or in case of death. Without this, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to awaken such men out of their lust.

Child-widow

The reader will recollect that I had written a few weeks ago about the intention of Shri Muljibhai Barot to marry a young girl. Later I had congratulated Shri Muljibhai on having given up the idea of this marriage, because of the article in the *Navajivan* and the criticism of the Brahmabhatt caste. Subsequently I received a letter that the announcement was nothing but a fraud and that Shri Muljibhai had got married secretly without the knowledge of his caste. I had decided to write about this last week, but could not do so for want of time. Now news has come that Muljibhai has passed away leaving the young girl a widow. We would not wish the death of a person whether good or bad. We wish that the bad may develop good sense —on the principle of wishing to others what you wish for yourself.[2] But what about the young widow? It is for society to consider this question. Even if a fourteen-year-old girl declares that she wishes to remain a widow, this has no meaning. Such a girl would certainly wish to remarry if cruel public opinion

[1] *Vide* "My Notes", 1-7-1928, sub-title, "Professor's Marriage to a Young Girl".

[2] आत्मवत् सर्वभूतेषु

is not against her doing so. The leaders of the Brahmabhatt caste should rush to the rescue of this poor girl. If the leaders have not understood their duty, the young men of the caste should patiently convince them and rescue the young girl. If the leaders are not convinced, but if the relatives are, then too, such problems can be solved. But to solve such problems the well-wisher himself should possess the requisite qualities. He should have purity of mind and heart and also patience. These qualities are required for the achievement of swaraj through peaceful means; these very qualities are needed also for the solution of such problems as the marriage of young widows and so on.

HAWKING KHADI

Shri Rishabhdas, of Wardha Khadi Bhandar, writes of his experience while he went round hawking khadi:[1]

All hawkers of khadi must be having such experiences. Shri Malkani has written in one of his letters that selling khadi from door to door is for him a valuable training in politics. For others it is a training for developing patience. For Rishabhdas this training leads to further strengthening of his faith in God. But faith in God is not something so easily attainable. Rishabhdas and his colleagues got success immediately, but God puts many of his devotees to a test even unto death. A true devotee does not link his faith in God with the achievement of success. Success and failure are one and the same to him.

METHOD OF SELF-RELIANCE

The contribution of the method of *svavalamban*[2] towards carrying out propaganda for khadi should not be underestimated. There is no doubt that this is popular and that it is the most straightforward course of action. Shri Jethalal Govindji who is working for khadi in Bijolia and who is a staunch advocate of this system writes to say:[3]

According to him other methods should also be adopted along with this one. But very few have made a scientific study of the method of self-reliance, and even fewer have had any experience

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that, while selling khadi from door to door in Maharashtra, he had received further confirmation of his faith in God.

[2] The principle that one should spin enough yarn to meet all one's needs by way of cloth; literally, 'self-reliance, self-sufficiency'

[3] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that, the requirement of cloth per head being very small, farmers and agricultural labourers, if trained, could produce all that they need.

of it. Therefore, wherever this system is practised, it would prove very useful if khadi workers write about their experiences. Everyone can propagate this system at least in his neighbourhood. But as the saying goes, 'one cannot go to heaven before one's own death'; similarly anyone who does not produce his own khadi cannot carry on propaganda for others adopting this principle.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-7-1928

45. *LETTER TO SHIV DAYAL SAWHNEY*

July 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am sorry that you, a young man of 27, should give way to despondency. You should be brave and surmount all domestic difficulties. You may not leave your wife and children as you propose. Suicide is undoubtedly a sin, which you must not commit on any account. It is no use coming to the Ashram in the expectation of peace. Peace we must find wherever we are. But as I have said in my telegram to you, you should consult Lala Lajpat Rai and act in accordance with his advice. It would be difficult from this distance for me to guide you. I shall be glad to hear in reply to this letter that you have regained your elasticity and that you have shed your weakness.

The balance of the money sent by you has been transferred to the Bardoli Fund.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SHIV DAYAL SAWHNEY
C/o PANDIT MULKRAJ
OVERSEER, CAMP, LELLPUR, PUNJAB

From a microfilm: S.N. 13467

46. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 10, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. Your efforts seem to produce good results. The more your words are inspired by love, the more the effect they will have. You should work for the institution[1] there as if it were your own. After having drawn people's attention to the drawbacks there, you should adopt a generous attitude so that they may not feel hurt but, on the contrary, may thank you.

I trust you are keeping very good health. Instead of telling you about the things here in just one sentence, I have asked Kusum to write to you. You will, therefore, have the maximum information and, since she will write at the same time that I do, unnecessary postage will also be saved. I am sure you have made it a practice to keep account of every pie that you spend there. If you have not, you should start now.

Ramdevji, too, writes to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 483. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

47. LETTER TO HAFIZ MOHAMMED ABDUL SHAKOOR[2]

July 10, 1928

I am opposed to the *purdah* system if only because men do not put themselves behind the *purdah*.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13441

[1] Kanya Gurukula; *vide* "Letter to Vasumati Pandit", 7-7-1928.

[2] According to S.N. Register this was a reply to Hafiz Mohammed Abdul Shakoor's letter dated June 28, 1928, from Madras asking Gandhiji for his views on *purdah* among Muslims.

48. LETTER TO SHAH MOHAMMED QASIM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

With further reference to your letter of 9th ultimo, I enclose herewith a copy of a letter[1] received from the Jodhpur Darbar in reply to my enquiry.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: 2 sheets

SHAH MOHAMMED QASIM
C/o SYED MOHAMMED HUSSAIN
P.O. NURHUT, GAYA

From a microfilm: S.N. 12397

49. LETTER TO MANAGER, INDIAN PRESS LTD.

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the book called *The Coming Renaissance*[2]. I am very sorry to have to tell you that I have not a minute to spare for reading and reviewing the book. Nor is [it] usual for me generally to review books in the pages of *Young India*. Do you wish me to return the book?

Yours sincerely,

THE MANAGER
THE INDIAN PRESS LTD., ALLAHABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 13471

[1] *Vide* footnote 3 to "Letter to Secretary, Jodhpur State", 1-7-1928.
[2] By P. M. L. Varma

50. LETTER TO K. R. BHIDE

July 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Your Father will be welcomed to the Ashram whenever he comes. But either he or you will please inform the Secretary of the Ashram beforehand when he may be expected.

With reference to your questions, you can answer them for yourself if you are a constant reader of *Young India* or *Navajivan*. If you are not, I should suggest your searching the files of these papers.

I think it is possible for you to receive training at the *Young India* office if you can begin work as a common labourer. But this depends more upon the manager than upon me as I do not interfere with the management of the press.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. R. BHIDE
LIMAYE BUILDING, CHIKALWADI, BOMBAY-7

From a microfilm: S.N. 13473

51. LETTER TO B. M. TWEEDLE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the packet of pencils. You have correctly guessed when you say that I might not approve of your method of raising funds for clearing your debt[1]. It would seem to me to be easier to make a direct appeal for a donation than to sell a particular thing at double or treble its cost price. In either case an appeal to one's charitable instincts has got to be made. Why then mix it up with the selfish instinct? But I may not argue.

[1] On account of the new school building

As required by you I am reposting the box.

Yours sincerely,

MISS B. M. TWEEDLE
WESLEYAN MISSION VILLAGE INDUSTRY
TRIVELLORE, CHINGLEPUT DISTRICT, SOUTH INDIA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13472

52. LETTER TO GOVARDHANBHAI I. PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

DEAR GOVARDHANBHAI,

I thank you for your letter[1]. I regret the decision of the Committee.[2]

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13475

53. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM[3]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

DEAR PRAKASAM,

May I not have a reply to my last letter[4]?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. PRAKASAM
"SWARAJYA", MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 13634

[1] Dated July 7 in reply to Gandhiji's letter of July 1. Govardhanbhai had written: "The subject-matter of my recent correspondence with you was placed before the meeting of the contributors to the [Ahmedabad Mills] Tilak Swaraj Fund for their consideration. . . . The meeting rejected the proposal for a Committee of Inspection and reaffirmed their previous resolution for a Committee of Joint Administration quoted in my letter to you of the 26th June 1928. . . ."

[2] A copy of this was forwarded to Shankerlal Banker for information.

[3] A copy of this was forwarded to Secretary, A.I.S.A., Ahmedabad, with reference to his letter.

[4] Dated May 24, 1928; *vide* Vol. XXXVI, p. 335.

54. LETTER TO SHANKARAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

MY DEAR SHANKARAN,

I have your letter and the cheque sent to Chhaganlal Joshi. The names will appear in due course.

There is no breach of *asteya*[1] when the donor's consent is obtained for the use of his donation for a cause other than the one or which it was originally meant.

On the principle that a labourer is worthy of his hire, a worker may be considered to have reduced his wants to nil when he is satisfied with the minimum of food and clothing and accommodation and then too if he makes no condition that he should be fed and clothed against service. The institution that takes work from him will feed him and clothe him for its own sake. One who has surrendered himself completely will cheerfully face starvation, if starvation is to be his lot. After all self-surrender is a mental attitude. The millions who starve helplessly have surrendered nothing because their minds do not co-operate with their enforced starvation.

I am sending you this letter before knowing your new address. I hope you will receive it.

From a photostat: S.N. 13469

55. LETTER TO S. A. SAHASRABUDDHE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have all your letters. I do not necessarily acknowledge all the correspondence I receive, if only for want of time. I do not notice in *Young India* all the functions that may take place with reference to men dead or alive whom I may admire.

I have not altered my opinion that I have expressed before about Shivaji and other heroes. But because they are not my

[1] Non-stealing

gurus nor my models, I am not blind to their heroism nor to the important part they have played in the world drama.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. A. SAHASRABUDDHE
ZAVBA'S WADI, PAREKH BUILDING
GIRGAON, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13470

56. LETTER TO M. B. NIYOGI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1]. I am glad that Sjt. Awari is keeping well.

I know that he holds very strong views about khadi. My own opinion is that after having explained his position, if he is still compelled by the jail authorities to wear the uniform made of non-khadi, he ought not to make it a point of hunger-strike. I see no harm in his agitating for uniform made of khadi and I think that you should help him in this direction. His objection cannot be to the jail uniform, but his objection is and can be to the kind of cloth of which the jail uniform is made. He can even offer to have khadi uniform made at his expense. Without his prompting, I do not see why you should not see the authorities and have this very simple matter regulated without any fuss.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. M. B. NIYOGI
ADVOCATE, CRADDOCK TOWN, NAGPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 13474

[1] Dated July 7, which read: "Manchar Shah Awari of Nagpur had led a movement known as Sword Satyagraha and was sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment. . . . Mr. Awari insists that he should be permitted to wear his own khaddar clothing. . . . The jail authorities are prepared to allow him to use his own khaddar next to skin but insist on his wearing the jail uniform over it. Mr. Awari is not agreeable. . . . I request you to give your opinion on the point whether wearing private khaddar clothing next to skin and jail uniform over it, offends against the vow to wear khaddar; and whether death is a better alternative to acceptance of the compromise proposed by jail authorities."

57. NOTES

Education for Service

A friend sends the following interesting extract from *The Service of Motherhood* by M.E.D. Smith:

> Our educational methods have been far too slipshod. It has, for instance, been too much the practice at our universities to let the young men learn if they choose, but if they find study distasteful, then to allow them to idle their time away almost at their own pleasure. It seems strange that it should have been overlooked what a wrong was thereby being done to the nation, for wrong it assuredly is, since every member of a nation is born into it to serve, not to be a mere passenger. For the slack methods pursued certain of our educational heads are much to blame. Blind to the needs of the hour and dwelling in an atmosphere of aloofness and self-complacency, they have failed to appreciate the real aim and the vital importance of education. Let us hope that in the future it will be accounted as great a disgrace to omit to take advantage of opportunities for learning as it now is for a soldier to desert his post.

Be it remembered that this is said of national education as of national military service. It will be as wrong to serve in an army of hirelings drilled and paid to crush the spirit of their kith and kin as it would be to belong to an educational institution designed to subserve the purpose of a foreign domination.

Kashi Vidyapith

Principal Narendra Deva of Kashi Vidyapith, Benares Cantonment, sends the following[1] for publication:

This is one of the few national institutions that still retains its existence, thanks mainly to Babu Shivaprasad Gupta's faith and generosity.

Are We Getting Poorer?

Professor Sam Higginbottom sent me some time ago for answer a series of questions[2] on India's poverty. As his inquiry was serious and as I know him to be desirous of helping us to solve this difficult problem, I thought that instead of merely giving my

[1] The extract which is not reproduced here gave the date of reopening of the Vidyalaya, subjects taught, minimum qualifications for admission, etc.

[2] *Vide* "Our Poverty", 6-9-1928.

own answers, I would seek the assistance of experts in the matter. Letters were therefore addressed to a few such friends asking if they would make time to give their considered opinion. Professor C. N. Vakil of the University of Bombay has kindly sent me his opinion in a series of articles[1]. The first instalment the reader will find elsewhere in this issue.

All-India Cow-protection Association[2]

A general meeting of this Association will be held at the Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, at 3.30 p.m. on 25th instant to consider the following resolution[3]:

> "Inasmuch as the All-India Cow-protection Association has not been able to command public attention and sympathy commensurate with the all-India character it has claimed, and inasmuch as its activities have been confined to the slow spread of the objects of the Association and especially to helping to conduct a dairy and tannery at the Satyagraha Ashram in terms of the objects of the Association, and inasmuch as the subscriptions and donations are mainly confined to those who are interested in the experiment, and inasmuch as the numerous goshalas and pinjrapoles which were expected to respond to and be affiliated to the Association have failed to do so, the existing members of the Association hereby resolve to disband it and to adopt the less pretentious title of Cow-protection and Preservation Society and to entrust the affairs, management and control of the funds and stock of the Association to the following Committee of management of the Society with full powers to disburse the funds, conduct the said experiments, to add to their number and otherwise carry out the objects of the Association and to frame a constitution and rules for the management of the Society and to make such amendment thereof as may from time to time be required."

It is unnecessary for me to write anything more on the reason for bringing forward the resolution. Sjt. Jamnalalji and I have felt for a long time that we were not doing justice to the Association or the public by running it under the ambitious general title

[1] Entitled "The Poverty Problem in India". These were published in *Young India* on July 12, 19 and 26, August 2 and 9, 1928.

[2] Formed by Gandhiji on April 28, 1925; *vide* Vol. XXVI.

[3] For resolution as amended and adopted at the meeting, *vide* "Service, not Protection", 2-8-1928.

without showing work or results in keeping with the high title. The funds too are principally those that he has received from personal friends and some received by me for the experiments, which I believe are most important if the cow is to be saved from destruction. It therefore seems that it would be proper and more honest to make the Association a small society of those who are interested in and approve of the methods advocated in these pages for the preservation of the cow. The funds at the present moment are about Rs. 17,000, the stock consists of a few books mostly gifts received by me. The current monthly expenditure is about Rs. 55. The liability of the Association is to disburse such expenses as may be incurred by the Ashram for the purpose of conducting the experiments entrusted to it.

Young India, 12-7-1928

58. AWAKENING AMONG STUDENTS

The message of Bardoli has not yet been fully delivered. But incomplete as it still is, it has taught us lessons which we shall not easily forget. It has revived our drooping spirits, it has brought us new hope, it has shown the immense possibilities of mass non-violence practised not from conviction, but like most virtues with most of us as a policy. The descriptions I have heard from eye-witnesses of the wonderful demonstration held in Bombay in honour of Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel, the spontaneous offering of Rs. 25,000, the affectionate besieging of his car, the showering of gold and bank notes on him as he was passing through the huge crowds, the ovation that signalized his entry into the theatre are proof of what Bardoli has wrought in the space of a few months by its courage and sufferings. Marked as the awakening has been throughout India, it has been more marked amongst the students and the most among the Bombay students. I tender my congratulations to Sjt. Nariman and the brave lads and lasses on whom he has acquired such a wonderful hold. And among the students the eye-witnesses single out the three Parsi girls, Miss Davar and Misses Bhesania, who by their boundless enthusiasm and courage are said to have electrified the student world in Bombay. Mahadev Desai has a letter from a student in a Poona College whose students on the 4th instant spontaneously observed the Students' Bardoli Day, stopped all work and made collections to which there was a willing response. May

this manifestation of courage on the part of the students of Government colleges and schools never die out nor fail at the crucial moment. The letters being received from students of self-denial practised by them for the sake of paying their humble mite to the Bardoli funds are most touching. The students of the Gurukul Kangri, Vaishya Vidyalaya, Sasawane, a hostel in Ghatkopar, Supa Gurukul near Navasari and several other institutions which I cannot recall at the time of writing have been either doing labour to earn a few rupees or denying themselves milk and ghee for a month or less.

It would have been monstrous if the lesson that the rustics of Bardoli, especially the illiterate women whom we have hitherto refused to count amongst the fighters for freedom, have been teaching us by their silent suffering and cool courage, had been wholly lost upon us. It can be said without fear of contradiction that it was the students of China who led the fight for freedom in that great country, it is the students in Egypt who are in the forefront in Egypt's struggle for real independence. Students of India are expected to do no less. They attend schools and colleges or should attend not for self but for service. They should be the salt of the nation.

The greatest obstacle in the way of students is fear of consequences mostly imaginary. The first lesson therefore that students have to learn is to shed fear. Freedom can never be won by those who are afraid of rustication, poverty and even death. The greatest fear for students of Government institutions is rustication. Let them realize that learning without courage is like a waxen statue beautiful to look at but bound to melt at the least touch of a hot substance.

Young India, 12-7-1928

59. LETTER TO BARBARA BAUER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1]. I don't know how the story about miraculous powers possessed by me has got abroad. I can only tell you that I am but an ordinary mortal susceptible to the same weakness, influences and the rest as every other human being and that I possess no extraordinary powers.

Yours sincerely,

MISS BARBARA BAUER
BIG SPRING, TEXAS, U.S.A.

From a microfilm: S.N. 14349

60. LETTER TO DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

MY DEAR FRIEND,

What a joy to receive your letter[2] after so many years.

You must have seen in the Press that I could not make up my mind to go to Europe this year. I have a mind to do so next year. If I do I have no doubt that we shall meet somewhere. But whether I shall be able to come to your Hospital as a friendly visitor or as a patient to receive medical and nursing care I do not know.

Yours sincerely,

DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL, DODDINGTON, KENT

From a photostat: S.N. 14352

[1] Dated May 24, 1928, which read: "My request of you is this: To resurrect my dear brother who recently passed away. . . . I know you can accomplish it in a Master's way. . . . I know you are endowed with these Divine Powers . . . " (S.N. 14314).

[2] Dated June 20, 1928, which read: "Pray . . . be sure of a very hearty and warm welcome if you can spend any time under my care here . . . If you need any medical or nursing care we will gladly give it to you. . . " (S.N. 14331).

61. LETTER TO L. CRANNA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

With reference to your letter[1] of the 18th May last, the letter written to "Sustaining Members" to which I sent you the reply[2] was addressed by yourself to me. It bears your signature. I enclose herewith the original.

It is amusing how misrepresentations some of which appear to me to be wilful, are made about me and my belief in so many papers—even those which profess to be conducted on Christian lines.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: 1

L. CRANNA, ESQ.
C/o Y.M.C.A., SINGAPORE

From a photostat: S.N. 14345

62. LETTER TO ADA ROSENGREEN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and the German book[3]. I think I have told you that I do not know German.

Nothing is yet settled about my visit to Europe next year.

I hold strong views about divorce. My own opinion is that if husband and wife do not agree temperamentally and there is always a jar between them, they should live in voluntary separation. But I do not accept the propriety of either party remarrying. Being

[1] Which read: "I am at a loss to know how my letter to Sustaining Members got into your hands, and would be very grateful to you if you would enlighten me" (S.N. 14313).

[2] Dated May 4, 1928; *vide* Vol. XXXVI, p. 294.

[3] Prepared by the Neutral Committee which had investigated the cause of the World War

a believer in the necessity of celibacy, I naturally incline to the view that the greater [the restraint] the man or woman exercises the better it is for himself or herself.

Yours sincerely,

M. ADA ROSENGREEN
LIDINGO, SWEDEN

From a photostat: S.N. 14346

63. *LETTER TO H. N. MORRIS*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and a copy of Helen Keller's book, *My Religion*.

I am not unfamiliar with Helen Keller's name and work. But I am sorry to have to inform you that I get not one moment to read much that I should like to read. The book you have sent me therefore still remains unread. But of course it will be read with interest by the inmates of the Ashram.

As you must have seen in the papers, I have to abandon the idea of visiting Europe this year. It is just probable that I may pay that visit next year.

Yours sincerely,

H. N. MORRIS, ESQ.
140 WITHINGTON ROAD, WHALLEY RANGE, MANCHESTER

From a photostat: S.N. 14347

64. LETTER TO SAMUEL M. HASSAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I consider myself unfit to guide you in choosing your course in medicine.

Your name has been duly sent to the Manager, *Young India* Office.

With reference to the Hindu-Muslim unity, etc., I agree with you that there should be a perfect union between the different communities and a great effort is being put forth in order to bring about that unity.

Regarding *Mother India* I refer you to my article[1] in *Young India* dated 15th September, 1927.

When you return to India you will be welcome to the Ashram.

Yours sincerely,

SAMUEL M. HASSAN, ESQ.
GENERAL CHEMISTRY, SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY, SYRACUSE, U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 14348

65. LETTER TO W. COLDSTREAM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your cordial invitation. If I succeed in my desire to visit Europe next year, I have no doubt that we shall meet somewhere and I shall be glad of the meeting. But whether I shall be able to accept your hospitality or not is more than I can say at the present moment. The possibility is that I shall not be master of my engagement.

Yours sincerely,

W. COLDSTREAM, ESQ.
69 WEST CROMWELL ROAD, LONDON, S.W. 5

From a photostat: S.N. 14350

[1] Entitled "Drain Inspector's Report"; *vide* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 539-47.

66. LETTER TO MRS. CAMEBUS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Mrs. Anasuyabai has told me all about you. It is not possible to encourage you to come here. And in any case I would like you not to come except for a trial and unless you have sufficient means to take you back provided the climate does not agree with you. I feel, however, that it is better for you to remain where you are and do such service as may fall to your lot.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. CAMEBUS[1]
34 DE CRESPIGNY PARK, LONDON, S.E. 5

From a photostat: S.N. 14351

67. LETTER TO ABID ALI JAFFERBHAI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Here is the message for your Annual:

Those who live in places outside India such as Singapore should bear in mind that they are the trustees for the honour of the nation to which they belong and therefore their conduct should be above board and absolutely honest with strangers in whose midst they are living. They should also retain the bond with the poorest in the motherland by the use of khadi.

Yours sincerely,

ABID ALI JAFFERBHAI
YOSUF BUILDING-C, MOUNT ROAD, MAZGAON, BOMBAY 10

From a photostat: S.N. 14568

[1] Teacher and social worker

68. LETTER TO U. K. OZA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 14, 1928

MY DEAR OZA[1],

I have your letter[2]. You have put upon me a burden which I am ill able to bear. The proposal you make seems to me to be attractive, but I am unable to guide you offhand. I can only say therefore that the local men are the best persons to decide. The caution that I would like to utter is that whilst the local men are the best persons to decide, they are expected in anything they may do, not to compromise the dignity or the honour of the nation as a whole.

With reference to the last paragraph[3] of your letter experience has hardened my faith in ahimsa. From all that is happening around me, I do not learn the lesson of *himsa* but of ahimsa. I may be totally wrong, but I have no knowledge or feeling of wrong about me.

I have sent you a cable saying "wait".

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 12855-A

[1] Editor, *Democrat*, Nairobi; General Secretary, East African Indian National Congress.

[2] Dated June 27, 1928, suggesting terms of settlement between Indians and Europeans of East Africa on the question of common electoral roll. Oza had added: "The European community agree to a common electoral roll for both the communities. The voters' qualification should be based on a residential, age and educational or property qualification. The educational test should be reading and writing of English. The Indian view has been expressed to the effect that the property should be definitely in possession of real estate valued at £1,000. I differ and think it should be lower. . . . The above proposals were first to be put before the Congress and if they were approved of, prominent Indians and Europeans were to affix their signatures to them and issue them as a joint manifesto outlining a fair basis of settlement of the Indian question in Kenya" (S.N. 12855).

[3] Which read: "I believe you will soon have to lead a strong youth movement and personally I think that you will have to lay aside non-violence also. Do you not see the gathering clouds all around?"

69. LETTER TO S. G. VAZE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 14, 1928

MY DEAR VAZE,

Here is a copy of a letter from Oza with my reply. I do not feel safe about guiding and I have told him as much. But you have studied the situation locally. Can you guide him?

I am writing to Benarsidas[1] also. I have cabled Oza asking him to await reply.

I was greatly pleased with your Bardoli report[2].

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. G. VAZE
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA

From a microfilm: S.N. 12861

70. LETTER TO BANARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

[*July 14, 1928*][3]

BHAI BANARSIDAS,

Here is a letter from Oza. I am in no way qualified to advise him. You can write something on this subject to him.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Hindi]

Banarsidas Chaturvedi's correspondence with A.I.C.C. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum

[1] Banarsidas Chaturvedi

[2] The report was prepared by Hridayanath Kunzru, Vaze, Editor of *The Servant of India*, and Amritlal Thakkar, all members of the Servants of India Society. For a summary of the report by Mahadev Desai, *vide* Appendix I.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

71. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKER PATTANI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 14, 1928

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I got your letter. Were it not that Mahadev is ill and confined to bed, I would probably have sent him to the station for his own satisfaction. But now I am sending none. However, Chi. Kusum has to go to the station to meet her friends and so I take the opportunity to tell you through this note that all of us are looking forward to your arrival.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 3223. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani

72. MY NOTES

THE SCORPION OF PASSION

A student from Calcutta writes to say[1]:

It has been my experience as well as that of my associates that if a husband and wife voluntarily observe *brahmacharya*, they can experience maximum happiness and see it increase every day. There is no difficulty in demonstrating the glories of *brahmacharya* to an uneducated wife or, we may say, that *brahmacharya* knows no distinction between the educated and the uneducated. It is simply a matter of having moral strength. I know some uneducated women who observe *brahmacharya* although they are married. A husband who observes *brahmacharya* is better able to protect the virtue of his wife even in a corrupt social environment. Absence of *brahmacharya* does not prevent a wife from deviating from the path of virtue, but instances can be cited where it has provided a cover to a wife's depravity.

The power of *brahmacharya* is immeasurable. It is my experience in many cases that he who observes *brahmacharya* is himself not free from lust and is hence unable to impress his wife with his endeavours. Lust is a clever fellow; hence he does not take

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked Gandhiji how one could observe *brahmacharya* with regard to one's wife.

long to discover his friends. A wife who is not free from lust and is not yet ready to shed it, perceives at once the passion hidden in her husband's heart and secretly laughs at his feeble and fruitless endeavours while she herself remains fearless. None should doubt that the *brahmacharya* which is constant and full of pure love burns up the lust of the other person and reduces it to ashes. Among the many beautiful images which I saw at Belur, there was one where the craftsman had given passion the form of a scorpion. This latter had stung a woman. Its intensity had made her naked and thereafter lifting its tail and lying at the woman's feet in the pride of its victory, it smiled at her. There is the pleasant coolness of *brahmacharya* in the eyes, in the touch, in the speech of a husband who has conquered this scorpion. Within an instant, he cools off and pacifies the lust around him.

Marriage of Old and Young or Debauchery?

I take the following extract from a sister's letter[1]:

There is justification in this sister's argument. But the remedy is the same that I have already pointed out.[2] Society may well boycott the man who practises debauchery. But if we accept the plea that as long as society does not boycott an adulterous man we should not boycott an old man who marries a child-bride, it will take a long time to prevent such ill-matched unions. There is no doubt that debauchery is to be condemned. Both parties are willing partners in debauchery and when one of them wishes to get out of this sin he or she can do so. In the case of a union of an old man and a child-bride, there is room neither for reform nor for atonement because dharma itself comes in the way of stopping that *adharma*. Dharma proves as a sort of shield to this so-called conjugal relationship. Moreover, when *adharma* assumes the guise of dharma, it is not less blameworthy but more so because hypocrisy is added to it.

It is a matter of regret that society is as unconcerned about unions of old men and child-brides as it is about adultery. Hence, without confusing the two issues, the said sister, other sisters and young men should take the question of such unions in hand and build up public opinion against them. Those who wish to bring

[1] Not translated here. The correspondent, referring to Gandhiji's advice that society should boycott old men who married child-brides, had asked how that could be done when many people considered such unions as permitted and proper. She added that there were men who though married kept mistresses and society did not boycott such men.

[2] *Vide* "My Notes", 8-7-1928, sub-title, "Marriage of Old with Young".

about this necessary reform should of course be pure themselves. It is the verdict of law that "those who wish to seek justice must purify themselves and then enter the temple of justice." Experience fully supports this rule.

To Him Who Is Good, the World Is Good

When I felt sad on hearing people being found fault with, a friend startled me by repeating the following[1]. As I liked the verses immensely, I share them with the reader in order to make him a partner in my enjoyment:

When we knew not our own state
We kept looking at others' failings,
But when we saw our own defects
There was none bad in our eyes.
Says Zafar that he is no man who
However brilliant and self-controlled
Does not remember God in his hour of happiness
But forgets Him in his anger.

I hope that "poets" will not rain poems on me because I have made bold to quote this verse. I know that we cannot bring about inner purity by means of beautiful poetry; hence poems rarely find a place in *Navajivan*. But there is a story behind the use of the above poem and hence it has been presented to the reader in the hope that at any rate after having seen their own failings, people will stop finding fault with others.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 15-7-1928

73. QUESTIONS OF A GRADUATE

"Silk and Tiger-skin"

A graduate of the Vidyapith writes to say:[2]

I have no doubt that from the point of view of ahimsa silk and tiger-skin should be given up. Similarly, things like pearls too should also be given up. It seems that people in the age in which the custom of wearing silk and tiger-skin was prevalent, did believe in the dharma of ahimsa, but still continued to use

[1] Urdu verses

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent wondered how silk and tiger-skin could be considered sacred by people who professed non-violence.

ıese things. This is because at that time they realized the useful-
ess and necessity of silk and tiger-skin and hence despite their faith
ı ahimsa, they used both these. Despite their belief in the princi-
le of ahimsa our predecessors made sacrificial offerings of animals,
nd we find some people doing so even now. Those who sacrifice
nimals state on the authority of the Shastras that violence done
or the sake of *yajna* cannot be termed violence. Similarly, those
f us who eat a strictly vegetarian diet, destroy vegetables which
ave life in them, and believe that this does not affect our ahimsa.

The moral we derive from all this is that human beings can-
ot altogether abstain from *himsa*. Even those living only on air
nd water are guilty of *himsa* to some extent. Therefore, we can
ıake a rule that the use of anything which involves *himsa* should
s far as possible be abandoned. And while practising such re-
unciation, we should not criticize but extend charity to those who
o not do so.

Although, as mentioned above, we needs must be simple in
ur habits of eating and dressing, and although our dharma is to
ave the lives of lower beings, yet we should realize that the
himsa practised in such self-control is not everything but only
small part of dharma. We find every day that a person who
ıeticulously practises this type of ahimsa can also be guilty of
reat *himsa*, and may have no sense of ahimsa at all. From the
act that, following inherited traditions, we use certain things for
ating and dressing we cannot claim that we practise ahimsa to-
vards these objects. Let the material results be the outcome
f ahimsa which is practised through tradition or necessity; in
self, however, ahimsa is a noble sentiment and can only be at-
ributed to the person whose mind is non-violent and is overflow-
ıg with compassion and love towards all beings. A person who
oes not take non-vegetarian food even today because he has
ever done so, but loses his temper every moment and robs others
egardless of morality or immorality, and unconcerned about the
appiness or unhappiness of those whom he robs, such a person
an in no case be regarded as non-violent but may be said to be
uilty of great *himsa*. Diametrically opposed to him is the person
vho eats meat in accordance with inherited traditions, but is
verflowing with love, free from anger and hatred and treats
veryone as equal; he is truly non-violent and deserves to be
evered. While considering ahimsa we always think it in terms
f eating and drinking; that is not ahimsa, that is a state of un-
onsciousness. That which gives *moksha*, that which is the supreme
lharma, in whose presence ferocious beasts shed their violence,

an enemy sheds his hatred, a hard heart is softened, this ahimsa is a supernatural power and it is only attained by a few after great effort and penance.

CAPITAL AND LABOUR

The second question of the graduate is as follows:[1]

The distinction between capital and labour is not a recent one. It has been in existence since ancient times. In this age it has reached an acute stage because there is a great awakening in the labour class. Again there has been an increase in the number of capitalists in this age, and capitalism has assumed a fierce form. In olden days the king was the principal capitalist, besides a few who came into contact with him. But in our times there has been a sudden increase in the number of capitalists. How can it be said that the world is progressing in such circumstances? But the way to mend the situation is not through hatred of the capitalists, that is by using force against them. I believe that capital and labour will always remain in greater or smaller proportions. I believe too that we can, by conscious effort, reduce a good deal the differences between the two. The words of a Chinese king quoted by the graduate are as good as gold. In this world, someone has to carry the burden of whoever sits idle. Therefore, it is a sin to sit idle even for a moment; if we understand this, we will be able to resolve many of our problems and, just as it is wrong for anyone to sit idle, so it is for anyone to take or hoard more than one needs. If people starve, this is the reason.

PURPOSE OF KHADI

The third question of the graduate is as follows:[2]

That is surely one of the purposes of khadi; but there are many others also, i.e., to provide the agricultural class with some occupation which can be widely practised at home during spare time; to boycott foreign cloth; to ensure that there is an increase in the spirit of co-operation amongst the people; to provide thousands of middle-class people with an honest livelihood and, if crores of people understand the message of khadi, they would realize that the strength to achieve independence is readily available in it.

With the success of khadi the supremacy of the mill will surely end.

[1] Whether in view of capitalists continuing to enjoy comforts at the expense of labour, the world can be said to be progressing

[2] Whether there is any purpose underlying the khadi movement other than the proper distribution of wealth and whether as a result of this movement the machine age will eventually come to an end

A FEW WORDS TO THE GRADUATE

The graduate has asked several other questions, but I feel there is no need to answer them. Those questions are regarding past life, rebirth and destiny. These questions have been raised since times immemorial. I would advise the graduate to have patience in order to find solutions to such problems. Whatever answers I give, ten other questions could be asked in reply to them and thus the battle of wits will continue for ever. The royal road is for us to keep ourselves engaged in doing the duty that lies before us, and to be patient and hopeful that God will solve spiritual problems. We have a clear understanding of sin and righteousness; the dharma, that we should do good deeds and avoid sinful ones, has been handed down to us through the ages. We should remain satisfied with this. The battle between fate and strenuous human effort is always on. While doing a good deed we should rely on the latter. The *Gita* has suggested this easy road. One should do one's duty without expectation of reward.

Lastly, I would suggest to the graduate to improve his handwriting. Good handwriting is a beautiful art. It is the outward mark of good breeding. I found some difficulty in reading his letter. I could not myself learn to write a neat hand. No one pointed it out to me during my student-days, nor was I taught to do so, and, afterwards I did not find the time to improve it. But, because I give trouble to many who have to read my handwriting, I have, out of self-pity, taken the trouble to read the graduate's letter. Graduates and all students should take a lesson from my mistake and learn to write a hand as beautiful as pearls, at least for the sake of their friends.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-7-1928

74. *AN ARMY AGAINST AN ANT*

While on the one hand the Bardoli enquiry[1] conducted by Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, Shri Vaze and Shri Amritlal Thakkar has ended the doubts of the few Indian leaders who still had doubts and has enlisted public opinion without exception in favour of the satyagrahis, there is on the other hand a rumour circulating that the Government is mobilizing a large army to attack the ant. Some persons claim that the Imperial Government, sitting on the

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.

Simla heights, is charging the Bombay Government with inco petence for allowing leadership to pass into the hands of Sar Vallabhbhai, and is now issuing orders from Simla as if the Bomb Government had not itself fully exploited the four weapons of *sa dama*, etc. It is also rumoured that the present discontinuance the work of the police and attachment officers portends the o nous lull before the storm. These are the faint and distant ech of the Government's preparations of a new and more aggress strategy.

But the Bardoli satyagrahis should remain utterly unaffected such rumours. If they are false, the Government will be less blame and the satyagrahis be tried less. If they are true, the of the Government's sins will be filled to the brim, and the sat grahis will get the desired opportunity to prove their worth.

Someone has said, "One who is forewarned is ever at eas On the basis of this, satyagrahis should be fully prepared. If rumour is true and the Government takes an unexpected step launching a sudden attack and creating confusion amongst satyagrahis, it could break up their ranks, and whatever has b gained so far would be instantaneously lost.

Where the commander is awake all the twenty-four ho what need is there to give a warning? What need is there wake up those who are already awake? Eternal vigilance is of the inevitable conditions of satyagraha. Moreover, satyagra do not have to concern themselves with the problem of differ kinds of strategies. The satyagrahi's strategy remains the sa for all ages, all places and all circumstances. After all, can e the rich have more than two eyes however much they want A satyagrahi learns his first and last lesson with his oath; theref the work of the commander and his army becomes simple, strai forward and easy. Satyagraha is a wonderful remedy needing modification. One 'No' from the satyagrahi is capable of era cating the thirty-six diseases. Let the Government confiscate property, attach all our land, imprison us, exile us, put u the sword or blow us with cannonballs. One who cannot any of these tests cannot be considered a true satyagrahi. satyagrahi's vow can never be observed in parts because trut not composed of parts. Truth is only one, whole and indivis and stays as such for all time, past, present and future. T can be compared to an arch. If even one brick of the a comes off, the whole arch crumbles. Because a counterfeit is accepted at ninety-nine shops, it does not acquire the wort be accepted in the hundredth shop. It was a false coin from

very moment of its making — only its real test was delayed.

Similarly if a satyagrahi is unable to pass the final test, he was never a satyagrahi. He might be anything else. The nation might have gained by whatever sufferings he has undergone; he too might have gained from the self-denial; however, he cannot be ranked among satyagrahis, he cannot receive the certificate of being a satyagrahi. In words similar to Solon's, it can be said of a satyagrahi: "Do not regard anyone as a satyagrahi before his death."

The satyagrahis of Bardoli should remember this statement and carry it into their hearts.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-7-1928

75. *THE ALPS OR THE HIMALAYAS?*

The swadeshi sentiment does not end merely with khadi. One, moved by this, will get one's wants supplied from near at hand, that is, from one's own native land. Such a one is content with this and, dissatisfied with his hut will not envy another's palace, nor strive in vain to acquire one.

This thought struck me when I read a beautiful description[1] of a scene near Almora in the Himalayas, which a friend has sent me:

The Alps is a mere kid compared to the Himalayas. The people of Europe have a right to be crazy over the Alps. They derive joy in its valleys and gain health. They do not have to come to the Himalayas and, if they do, they do so only after paying their debt to the Alps. We who are educated, do not know the Himalayas, do not know and do not care to know the miraculous health-giving properties of the plants which grow on them. We take no note of the fact proved by Ayurveda that the very air of the Himalayas is medicinal. We take no pride in the beauty of the Himalayas.

How splendid it would be if young men were made to travel on foot in the Himalayas! How much would that add to their health, their span of life, their knowledge, their national pride and their skills! Even students with average means could undertake such a trek.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-7-1928

[1] This is not translated here.

76. *EQUANIMITY IN HONOUR AND DISHONOUR*

The Secretary of the Nadiad Taluk Congress Committee has asked me to write a note on the addresses presented to Shri Lakshmidas Purushottam Asar and Imam Saheb Abdul Kadar Bawazeer by the residents of that taluk on June 24. Normally, such events are not mentioned in *Navajivan*. Workers have to face both honour and dishonour. When no note is taken of dishonour, how can honour be recorded? Moreover, both of them are inmates of the Ashram. How can notice be taken of the addresses presented to them? If they need the encouragement of an address or notice of it, they cannot continue as inmates of the Ashram. But an important point behind this welcome address certainly merits notice. Neither of these workers knows English and neither has learnt Gujarati at school. Both of them have studied in the school of experience and yet Shri Vallabhbhai would never have been able to complete successfully the important relief work without these and many other workers who like them were unlettered in English. Shri Lakshmidas has by his capacity for work charmed Sir Purushottamdas. In every aspect of the relief work the latter could notice Shri Lakshmidas's "scrupulousness in accounts, his impartiality, his great ability and his administrative capacity". Our experience of this relief work as well as that which we are gaining in Bardoli shows us clearly that for running the administration under swaraj, we shall not need many learned men with a knowledge of English or capable of delivering speeches but we shall need workers who love the people and know their language, who understand their needs, who are truthful, dutiful, industrious, poor, fearless and indifferent to honours.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-7-1928

77. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 15, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your letter[1]. Fortunately Vallabhbhai came here for the District Conference. I had a full chat with him. He thinks that it is not possible for him to wear the crown at least for this year, as even if the Bardoli struggle is finished there will be an immense amount of consolidation work to be done which will require his undivided attention. I think he is right. He is therefore out of the question. The more I have thought about yourself, I feel the more that you should be reserved for a more propitious occasion and I thoroughly agree that we should give place to younger men. And amongst them, there is no one even to equal Jawahar. I have therefore telegraphed to you saying that I am recommending his name for adoption by provincial committees, unless I receive a wire from you to the contrary in reply to my wire.

I have your circular letter today to the members of the Committee. Indeed I should go further and under the constitution reserve for the future parliament the right to revise on the score of justice and equality the obligations that we might be called upon to shoulder. Whether we have the strength today to carry out even the milder suggestion made by you is another question. But as you say, we must at least speak out our mind.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13636

78. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 15, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letters. You must bear as inevitable what you cannot remedy there. Think which verses in the *Gita* teach us to do this, and tell me if you spot them. Whenever you are in

[1] Dated July 11, suggesting Vallabhbhai Patel or, alternatively, Jawaharlal Nehru for the Congress Presidentship (S.N. 13633)

difficulty, look into the *Gita*. If you go on doing this, you will find the work a veritable Kamadhenu. I may die any day. The *Gita* will be with you till the hour of death, and is your provision even for the journey beyond. Have patience and love for every teacher and pupil who does not behave properly towards you, and you will win them over. Be content with whatever you can teach in the time which Vidyavatiji spares for you. Why cannot you use the *takli* instead of the spinning-wheel? For persons like us the spinning-wheel is a means not of livelihood but of *yajna*. Explain this to Vidyavatidevi. As you should not reply back, or even feel angry, when anyone criticizes you, irrespective of whether the criticism is right or wrong, so you should not when you hear any criticism of me.

It is raining much here. One may actually say that the rains obey our wishes. It will take some time before Mahadev is all right and on his feet, but he is improving every day.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 484. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

79. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 15, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got the letters from both of you. I get no time these days and so dictate most of the letters between three and four in the morning. This I find convenient. I have to give much of my time to the problems of the common kitchen. I do that because the experiment seems to me an extremely important one and it is essential that I pay attention to it. At present about a hundred persons take their meals in it. Despite this large number, there is no noise at meal-time and complete peace is preserved. One cannot be sure, though, how long this will last. We have shifted the kitchen and merged it with the one in the Hostel, and the room formerly used for the purpose is now occupied by women. If you were here at present, you would thus see the Ashram changed in many ways. Chi. Chhaganlal has handed over about Rs. 10,000 which he had accumulated and now observes the vow of non-possession quite strictly. He had the fullest co-operation of Chi. Kashi in this act of self-sacrifice. That family has now joined

the common kitchen. Mahadev had Rs. 4,000 with him, and he has handed over that amount. The separate kitchens which still remain will have closed down by the next *Kartik Sud* 1. There are only a few of them.

Harilal came and stayed here for one day. Ramdas and Rasik are still at Bardoli. The *Gita* recitation is kept up every day. The eighteen chapters are finished in fourteen days.

I was prompted by love in writing what I did about the Rustomji case in the "Autobiography".[1] I have omitted other names but given this one; my aim in giving certain names is that they should be remembered as long as the "Autobiography" is recognized as an important work. I follow what you say about Miss Schlesin[2]. But, then, isn't she half crazy? She has written a sort of wild letter even to me. Ask me again if you do not follow my point.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4741

80. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

July 16, 1928

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your loving letter. The fact is that its language will further prevent me from stretching out the begging bowl. But has a beggar prudence? Therefore whenever I am helpless I shall be at your doorstep.

It now appears that some settlement will come about in Bardoli.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6161. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] Pt. IV, Ch. XLVII, published in *Young India*, 12-4-1928

[2] Sonja Schlesin; *vide An Autobiography*, Pt. IV, Ch. XII; also Vol. XXXVI, p. 468.

81. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

July 17, 1928

ISTER,

ur letter to hand. If you are really calm that will give
l her peace.

khil's problem is a deep-seated one. If you have given
r attachment for his body, please do not at any cost de-
Nikhil. If he does not wish to take a medicine prepared
eat, he should not be compelled to do so. And he should
restrained if on doctor's advice he wants to take it. It
be left entirely to Nikhil. If however you have any doubts
matter, then it becomes your duty to persuade Nikhil to
e medicine. It is mentioned in the books which are des-
as Shastras that there is no harm in taking wine or meat
name of medicine. Among vegetarians too there are many
e nothing wrong in taking meat, etc., in the name of
ne. Do not act impulsively.

Blessings from
BAPU

n a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1658

82. LETTER TO C. S. VISHWANATHA IYER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 18, 1928

FRIEND,

have your letter. There was a letter before also. Unfor-
y I have not been able yet to go through the manuscript[1]
always lying in front of me. But I am so overwhelmed
work and new responsibilities that it is not possible to tell
hen I shall be able to go through your manuscript. All I
l you is that I am desirous of going through it.

am under the impression that you had a copy of the manu-
that you gave me. If you are in a hurry to have your

f the *Gita* translations

manuscript returned, please do not hesitate to tell me, but if not, I would love to keep it till I have found time to read it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. S. VISHWANATHA IYER, *Vakil*
90 EXTENSION, COIMBATORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13478

83. LETTER TO K. VENKATAPPAYYA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 18, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your long letter regarding C. V. Rangam Chetty. Of course I did not want you to give me such an elaborate thing. So far as I am myself concerned, I never doubted the propriety of your action, according to your own best judgement.

Personally I do not think we should insist upon exclusion of khadi manufactured in other provinces. I discussed the thing with Shankerlal[1] today and he promised to write to you more fully.[2]

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KONDA VENKATAPPAYYAGARU
GUNTUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13642

84. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 18, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and I have a letter from Satis Babu too giving me chapter and verse in answer to your letter of which you had very correctly sent him a copy. Whilst I do not know much about the manner in which Satis Babu is carrying on propaganda to educate public opinion in favour of his view, I

[1] Shankerlal Banker

[2] A copy of this with Venkatappayya's letter was forwarded to Secretary, A.I.S.A., for necessary action.

must confess as I have said in my letter to Sjt. Sen Gupta that I share the view Satis Babu takes of the Exhibition. In my opinion, we must not take in everything, even in the shape of machinery unless we are absolutely certain that it is beneficial and requires encouragement without which it would not be taken up by the public. I do not believe in distracting public attention by introducing in the Exhibition, even things that may be beneficial but that may not require Congress patronage for use by the public. Thus, for instance, I would not have in the Exhibition watches which we do not manufacture but we do need but which the various manufacturers have ample means of advertising. But in this matter we may differ in our opinion and if such is the case, there is no reason why each opinion should not be put before the public without leading to bitterness or acrimony. If there is anything definite against Satis Babu showing that he has been unscrupulous in his propaganda, I would gladly write to him about it.

I hope that there is no trace whatsoever of the illness you have contracted whilst you were under detention in Burma. I have received your telegram[1] about Pandit Motilalji. Motilalji himself is disinclined to accept the honour. I share his view and subject to Sjt. Sen Gupta's consent I had prepared an article for publication in the forthcoming issue of *Young India*. But on hearing from him in answer to my wire I cancelled the article and I shall say nothing about the election in the pages of *Young India* or elsewhere unless Bengal friends would let me.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13641

85. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 18, 1928

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I had just received your letter. Your matter-of-fact description of your sister and her death tells more than an adjectival descrip-

[1] Dated July 17, which read: "Bengal unanimous in favour of Motilalji's Presidentship. Kindly recommend him otherwise pray remain neutral" (S.N. 13640).

tion could have of the grief you have felt over the loss of one wl was not merely a sister to you but a friend in need. But I kno I do not need to commend to you God's care and mercy. Y have enough and independent faith in you and therefore do n stand in need of prompting from without. Whilst I share to t full your condemnation of the English officials, I cannot like y exonerate the Nawab for his heartlessness even in the face of death

I hope you will win your High Court case.

I understand and appreciate what you say about the Jamia But I fear that unless you give Dr. Zakir Husain a free hand, t Jamia will collapse. There are risks to be run either way. If y keep the unmanageable large committee of control, Dr. Zak Husain and his associates must starve. If you give the control a small body who can be easily approached and brought togeth by Dr. Zakir Husain and have not an equivocal constitution li the present one but an unequivocal emphatically non-co-operati constitution, there is just a chance of tiding over the difficult You will now decide between the two courses, or you may thi of a third. The Ajmal Fund which after all is small enoug cannot be parted with unless the Jamia is put upon a firm a on an acceptable footing. Dr. Ansari was coming here for t purpose and if he could have come, it might have been better f us three to meet. As it is I would not worry you to come Ahmedabad just to discuss this point without Dr. Ansari. Y have stated your view with absolute clearness, and I do not expe to be able to influence your decision, and I know that whatev you do in Delhi would be done according to the best of yo judgement and belief.

Your remarks about Motilalji make painful reading.[3] I a unable to pass any judgement, but I do feel that he is incapab

[1] In his letter dated July 16, Shaukat Ali had written that the Naw of Rampur had sent him a "nasty telegram" in reply to his request for p mission to visit his sister's grave.

[2] Shaukat Ali had written: "I think all moneys as are being collected the 'Ajmal Memorial' should be given for the payment of the debts of Jamia, and keep it going up to the time as we were able to get big su or endowment. What is the use of sitting over the moneys while the Jan was getting ruined? *I want the Jamia to live*, as without it we will have place to educate our children. . . ."

[3] Shaukat Ali had written: "Apparently there is no change in the at tude of Panditji and he wants the Madras Resolution to go and the Mussalma to give up the Reservation of Seats and the Separation of Sind also. . . am afraid, if Panditji insists on adopting the Mahasabha formulas, then position of Moslem Congressmen would be most unpleasant. . . ."

of wilfully coming to a perverse decision. Do you expect me or want me to do anything in this matter? If you do, do not hesitate to tell me what and if I can see eye to eye with you and have the ability to do it, you may depend upon my doing it.

Yours sincerely,

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI
SULTAN MANSION, DONGRI, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13465

86. LETTER TO V. J. PATEL

July 18, 1928

BHAISHRI VITHALBHAI,

I got your letter. We shall have known the outcome[1], whatever it is, before you get this letter. I had a full discussion about the matter with Vallabhbhai on Sunday.

Let the outcome be what it is, you should certainly pay a visit to Rangoon. That is the spirit in which we should carry on our work.

That your relations with Motilalji have been kept up is of good augury.

Please write to me from time to time even during the journey. I have written to Maganlal Pranjivandas at Rangoon. I suppose you will be staying with him.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Let the monthly contributions you send go on accumulating. When you have any suggestion to make, do so.

I do not wish to spend the sum without your consent. Interest on it is of course being credited regularly.

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 14452

[1] Of Bardoli Satyagraha

87. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 18, 1928

BHAI HARIBHAU,

Read the accompanying letter. Inquire into the matter, and reply to Kamalakar direct.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6061. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

88. FOR SOUTH AFRICA INDIANS

A cable from the Secretary, South African Indian Congress, Johannesburg, says:

> Condonation scheme accepted. Illegal entrants in the Union now in India must either return before 30th September next or send applications to reach before that date the Commissioner, Asiatic Affairs, Pretoria. After sending applications they must return to the Union before 30th March, 1929. Give wide newspaper publicity all parts India.

This ends the agitation that was going on in South Africa in respect of the condonation scheme and was making the Rt. Hon. Sastri's position difficult and causing an anxious time in South Africa as well as here. Let those Indians, who have domiciled rights in South Africa, are holders of certificates and are desirous of availing themselves of the right of return, make haste to send their applications so as to reach the Commissioner of Asiatic Affairs, Pretoria, on or before the 30th September next, unless they propose to proceed to South Africa themselves so as to reach there before that date. Each applicant should give full particulars, giving name, address, occupation, date and number of certificate and disclose all relevant facts. The application should be sent by registered post in good time. I wish that I could give more definite guidance. Not having got the application form[1] or any text of the scheme[2] before me, I am powerless to do so. And whilst I hope to publish further information as fast as I get it,

[1] & [2] *Vide* Appendix II.

let no one delay sending his application pending the receipt of further and fuller information.

Young India, 19-7-1928

89. NON-CO-OPERATION OR CIVIL RESISTANCE

Fear has been entertained in Government circles that the movement going on in Bardoli is one of non-co-operation. It is necessary therefore to distinguish between non-co-operation and civil resistance. Both are included in the wider term 'satyagraha' which covers any and every effort based on truth and non-violence. The term 'non-co-operation' was designed to include among other things the items named in the programme of 1920 at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta[1] and re-affirmed the same year at Nagpur[2] with the object of attaining swaraj. Under it no negotiation with or petition to the Government of the day was possible except for the purpose of attaining swaraj. Whatever the Bardoli struggle may be, it clearly is not a struggle for the direct attainment of swaraj. That every such awakening, every such effort as that of Bardoli brings swaraj nearer and may bring it nearer even than any direct effort is undoubtedly true. But the struggle of Bardoli is to seek redress of a specific grievance. It ceases the moment the grievance is redressed. The method adopted in the first instance was through conventional prayer and petition. And when the conventional method failed utterly, the people of Bardoli invited Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel to lead them in civil resistance. The civil resistance does not mean even civil disobedience of the laws and rules promulgated by constituted authority. It simply means non-payment of a portion of a tax which former the aggrieved ryots contend has been improperly and unjustly imposed on them. This is tantamount to the repudiation by a private debtor of a part of the debt claimed by his creditor as due to him. If it is the right of a private person to refuse payment of a debt he does not admit, it is equally the right of the ryot to refuse to pay an imposition which he believes to be unjust. But it is not the purpose here to prove the correctness of the action of the people of Bardoli. My purpose is to distinguish between non-co-operation with attainment of swaraj as its object and civil resistance as that of Bardoli with the redress of

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 230-1.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XIX, Appendix I.

a specific grievance as its object. This I hope is now mad clear beyond doubt. That Sjt. Vallabhbhai and the majority of th workers under his command are confirmed non-co-operators i beside the point. The majority of those whom they represen are not. National non-co-operation is suspended. The persona creed of a non-co-operator does not preclude him from representin the cause of those who are helplessly co-operators.

Young India, 19-7-1928

90. SPINNING IN SAWANTWADI

The following report[1] prepared by Sjt. S. P. Patwardhan has been lying in my file for some time. It will be read witl interest by the general reader and with profit by khadi workers

Young India, 19-7-1928

91. BY-PRODUCTS OF KHADI

On the 14th instant the Gandhi Ashram conducted by Sjt C. Rajagopalachari near Tiruchengodu in Tamil Nadu had a free dispensary opened by Dr. Ray. From the report read a the meeting it appears that round khadi as the centre, remova of untouchability and of the drink evil, rural sanitation and medi cal relief have sprung up. The Ashram serves 175 villages amon which annually 45,000 rupees are distributed through khadi Removal of untouchability is done through the personal service c the 'untouchables' exactly on the same terms as the rest. Th Ashram now proposes as soon as funds permit to dig five well and build cottages for them. They need Rs. 10,000, five bein for five wells. The wells are a sore need as the 'untouchables "have to go long distances and suffer many humiliations and hard ships to get their daily pot of water". In 19 months the Ashrar gave medical relief to 28,095 men and women. The need for ex pansion became so great that they had to build a proper dispen sary at a cost of Rs. 5,000. It was to open this that Dr. Ra travelled all the way to the Ashram. The hospital cost Rs. 20 per month which was supported from khadi work. But now th

[1] Not reproduced here

[2] A devoted khadi worker who had worked in the National School the Ashram and later went to work in Konkan

need for donations is felt. I must give in its own language the report of sanitation work:

> The people are very conservative in their habits and are impervious to new ideas. Under these conditions we thought our campaign for sanitation should begin with the children. A children's bathing scheme was started on February 18, 1928 under which all the children in the neighbourhood below twelve years were offered an oil-and-soap-nut bath on Saturdays and a soap-bath on Tuesdays. The doctor and other members of the Ashram attend to this work personally, oiling and removing the vermin from the children's hair and rubbing them down clean and tidy. Only the untouchables have taken advantage of the scheme. At first a very large number of these children came and it was a happy sight to see them being bathed and made clean and tidy. But many of them have later stopped away as the novelty wore off. Only about twenty children are regularly attending every week. We hope, however, that if we persist, a large number will take advantage of the scheme.

Such are the few among the many by-products of khadi. Let scoffers take note. And let friends help the Ashram which is slowly but surely penetrating the masses through their real service by making them self-reliant and self-supporting.

Young India, 19-7-1928

92. *LETTER TO T. R. PHOOKAN*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 19, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Will you not now pay the long-overdue account due by you to the All-India Spinners' Association? It is Rs. 319-2-3.[1]

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. R. PHOOKAN
GAUHATI (ASSAM)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13644

[1] A copy of this was forwarded to Secretary, A.I.S.A., Ahmedabad, with reference to his office letter No. 3783 dated July 18.

93. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 20, 1928

MY DEAR PRAKASAM,

Your letter astounds me. Evidently your code of public business and mine are as poles asunder. I have never known the interpretation you put upon a personal guarantee given by a public man in connection with a public transaction. What I have seen in India and South Africa is quite different from what you enunciate. Public men even when they have given verbal assurances about *bona fides* of transactions have paid from their own pockets when the transactions have turned out to be not as expected by the assurers, on the strength of whose expectations investments were made by public corporations such as the Spinners' Association. Only the other day a man paid nearly Rs. 21,000 out of his own pocket and has nearly ruined his own pecuniary prospects, because the moneys were entrusted to his care on the strength not merely of his honesty but a belief in his capacity for judgement. No extensive public business would be possible, in my opinion, upon the terms that you suggest should guide public men and their dealings.

In view of this fundamental difference, the questions of fact that you raise need not be discussed. If I could possibly bring you round to my view of public dealings and public honesty, I would gladly go into the facts you suggest, and, if any injustice has been done on that score, ample redress will be given to you. I am sorry for the shape that the correspondence between you and me has taken over the transaction.

I suppose in fairness I must tell you that Sjt. Shankerlal Banker told me only the other day that the guarantee signed by you was . . .[1]

From a microfilm: S.N. 14453

[1] The source is incomplete. Replying to this in his letter dated July 25, Prakasam wrote: "I quite agree that our experiences and course of public business and public honesty are in this matter 'as poles asunder'. I have known so many cases in which such clauses of personal guarantee have been inserted in the documents to serve merely as penal clauses of threat to keep parties on good behaviour, without any intention of enforcing them. . . . I am talking only as an ordinary mortal and I have no claim to place myself

94. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 20, 1928

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

Your two letters.

It does not matter if you have sent nothing for Bardoli. Enough contributions are pouring in. If I am hard up I shall certainly bother you. There is now little possibility of an agreement. It is all right if it comes about and none the worse if it does not. The reins of satyagraha rest in the hands of God alone. Vallabhbhai is here today.

I shall write again in *Navajivan* on the boycott.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6162. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

95. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA ON BARDOLI

AHMEDABAD,
July 20, 1928

Interviewed by a Press representative on the Bardoli question, Mr. Gandhi said that his views were the same as those of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. It was, he added, a matter of deep regret to him that there was a possibility of the negotiations failing but if they did, the fault would be, so far as he could judge, entirely the Government's.

The communique that was published after the Surat Conference[1] baffled him. He missed there the friendly and trustful spirit that was essential for an honour-

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on a higher level with one in your position. You must excuse me for differing from you in my last letter. I said I was agreeable to an arbitration but in your closing sentence you said that you had advised Sjt. Shankerlal Banker to take such action as he might be advised by his lawyer. I know already that the Khadi Board has been prefering latterly law-courts to arbitration. I am sorry that you could not take a more dispassionate view in the matter. With kind regards. . . ."

[1] Held on July 18; as representatives of the agriculturists of Bardoli, Vallabhbhai Patel, Abbas Tyabji, Sharada Mehta, Bhaktilakshmi Desai, Mithu-

able compromise. To a lay mind like his, this insistence upon the deposit of the enhanced part of the assessment seemed inconceivable, and if he could so put it, absurd. It passed comprehension how the great Government could possibly demand such a deposit from people who were under their jurisdiction and control. On the other hand, it was not difficult to understand why the people were definitely against making any such deposit. For them, it was a point of honour. In waiving the deposit, the Government stood to lose nothing. There were several points in the communique on which it was easy to enlarge, he should seek another channel[1] for placing his views before the public.

Asked if he realized that the failure of the negotiations might lead to very serious consequences to the peasants of Bardoli, Mr. Gandhi said that nothing more serious could befall the people of Bardoli than that they should break the pledge they had taken deliberately and repeated times without number.

Asked whether he thought that all the suffering and sacrifice involved in this struggle would ultimately result in any good either to the people of Bardoli or to the country at large, he said that he certainly thought so; the greater the sacrifice, the greater the gain to the country and the people of Bardoli.

Asked if he was in entire agreement with all the methods adopted by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in his campaign, Mr. Gandhi said that he was in perfect agreement with all the methods pursued by Mr. Patel. He knew absolutely nothing to warrant the charge, which he could only call a libel, that Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel had in any way directly or indirectly countenanced violence.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-7-1928

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behn Petit and Kalyanji Mehta met the Governor of Bombay, who put the following conditions for a settlement:

"Firstly either the full assessment shall be paid forthwith or the *difference* between the old and the new assessment *be paid into the treasury on behalf of the peasants*.

Secondly that the movement to withhold land revenue shall be abandoned.

If these proposals were accepted, Government would be prepared to take steps by the establishment of a special enquiry *into the alleged errors of the official calculations of facts*, either by a Revenue Officer who had nothing to do with the present case, or by a Revenue Officer with a Judicial Officer associated with him, it being the duty of the latter to decide any *disputed questions of facts or figures*. . . ." (*The Story of Bardoli*, p. 159)

[1] *Navajivan* and *Young India*; *vide* "Evil Genius of the Government", 22-7-1928, and "An Appeal to Government", 23-7-1928.

96. LETTER TO SHANKARAN

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
July 21, 1928

DEAR SHANKARAN,

I have been waiting to hear from you about . . .[1] The need is rather urgent as we are likely to have our hands over full now that we are promised hot repression as a result of the breakdown of negotiatious. We shall know the final upshot in a couple of days.

You will be amused to learn that I made my first acquaintance in life with pick-pockets last night. I had gone with Kalyanji and Mithubehn to Surat with some important despatches that were to be delivered to Vallabhbhai who was going to Bombay by the Kathiawar Mail.[2] As the train was to arrive at past midnight towards the small hours of the morning we all three waited in our car outside the Railway Station and as may naturally be expected, casually dozed off, though mosquitoes and bugs did not permit that blissful experience to last for more than a quarter of an hour or so at the outside. When the train arrived I jumped out of the car but when I plunged my hand into my pocket for my watch I found to my utter surprise that the spectacles case in which I used to keep the watch and the chain was not there. It appears that some consummate member of the light-fingered gentry had practised his art upon me in the brief interval that I had gone to sleep. It was a wrench to part with the memento owing to its association and especially the yeomen service that it had rendered me during the last two years.

How are you faring in your enterprise as a house agent? So far as I am aware Rattan Terrace is the only bungalow besides the Windy Hall that is worth going in for at Devlali. But maybe that some new bungalows have been erected during the last four years. In view of the uncertainty of your movement I am sending it to your Bombay address.

Yours sincerely

From a microfilm: S.N. 13260

[1] As in the source

[2] To meet his brother, Vithalbhai Patel, who was leaving for Burma

97. LETTER TO G. V. SUBBA RAO

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 21, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am sorry that I shall not be able to write anything useful about the late Gopalakrishnayya. I could not write anything about him without having to criticize his conduct in several matters. I have therefore considered it wise not to say anything about the deceased.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 3625

98. LETTER TO SUPERINTENDENT, AHMEDABAD CENTRAL PRISON

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 21 1928

SIR,

The Manager of the Satyagraha Ashram has handed me your letter of the 20th instant containing the information that three strangers with two dogs were crossing the jail fields at 7.30 p.m. on some day not mentioned in your letter under reply. Though the two paragraphs of your letter show no connection with the Ashram, the third paragraph asks the Superintendent of the Ashram to enquire into the matter and instruct the persons whoever they may be not to trespass into Government fields and you end with the threat that "otherwise it might lead to unnecessary troubles". Will you please tell me how the Ashram is to enquire into a matter with which it has no connection and instruct persons whom it does not know about an occurrence whose date is not given? And may I know the meaning of the threat contained in your letter under reply? But I may point out to you that much to the annoyance of the inmates, some persons from the Jail did trespass into the Ashram grounds during the evening of the 19th instant, and fortunately for the Jail offi-

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to G. V. Subba Rao", 27-7-1928.

cials, the Ashram has by its constitution rendered itself powerless to punish such trespass. But if you have any desire to keep your own subordinates under discipline and prevent them from molesting inoffensive neighbours, you can have all the evidence you may need in order to establish the charge I am making.

I may mention further for your information that I read out your letter to the inmates of the Ashram at the prayer meeting at 7 o'clock yesterday evening, and I was told that the occurrence you refer to might have happened on the previous evening and that, at the time you mention, those who are in the habit of going out for a stroll in the direction of Sabarmati Station did see some persons with two dogs walking towards Wadaj in haste. These persons have no connection whatsoever with the Ashram.

Whilst I am replying to your letter of the 20th instant, I take the opportunity of adverting to another letter of yours dated the 21st May last. I acknowledge the friendly tone of that letter, but I cannot help saying that your conviction that no violence was used by the Jail Warder in question could only rest on very slender basis. I wonder how you could arrive at a definite conviction without hearing both the parties. I was astounded on reading your letter of the 21st May to find that you seem to rely more upon the word of your warders than on that of men occupying some status in society and having no reason to bring a false charge against anybody.

You should also have known that the parties referred to in the second paragraph of that . . .[1]

From a photostat: S.N. 13483

99. *CABLE TO RAJENDRA PRASAD*[2]

[On or after *July 21, 1928*]

RAJENDRA PRASAD
CARE JAYAWATI, LONDON

APOLOGIZE MY ABSENCE.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 14753

[1] The source is incomplete.

[2] In reply to his cable dated July 21, which read: "Propose attending Vienna Conference. Cable instructions care Jayawati."

100. PROHIBITION OF SILK

Apropos what I have written[1] in *Navajivan* about silk and tiger's skin, Kakasaheb sends me the following reasons[2] for prohibiting silk, which are worth considering.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 22-7-1928

101. EVIL GENIUS OF GOVERNMENT

When the Governor of Bombay went to Simla, and I saw newspaper reports about this visit, I felt that the change that Shri Vallabhbhai was anxious to bring about in the Government had taken place. But, from the results of the deliberations at Surat,[3] it appears that the Government's heart has not yet softened; how then can one talk about a change? That heart has become harder than a stone.

I see bad motives in every line of the Government's circulars which are published in all the newspapers. Even after five hours of deliberations, the problem defied solution. Apart from what we read in the newspapers, there is not a single new point in the Government's Press Note. Not even an effort has been made to understand what the satyagrahis of Bardoli demand.

[1] *Vide* "Questions of a Graduate", 15-7-1928, sub-title, "Silk and Tiger-skin". Gandhiji had expressed the view that from the point of view of ahimsa, both silk and tiger-skin had to be given up.

[2] Not translated here. D. B. Kalelkar had pointed out that all people in the world used skins of animals in olden times, that in the Vedic period sages used to sit upon deer-skins while performing *yajnas*, that *Kshatriyas* and dutiful kings went ahunting and killed deer and tigers for protecting crops and cattle. Since skins of dead animals and of animals killed for food could not be thrown away, they were freely used. As animals were currently being killed merely for their skins, these latter ought to be discarded from the point of view of ahimsa. Kalelkar had made the further point that our ancestors were not unaware of silk though he held that originally there was no silk in India. As the people did not know that it came from China and was produced from the body of insects, they must have welcomed it. Once the people liked a thing, it was difficult to discard it. However, the moment this fact became known, they gave it up.

[3] *Vide* footnote 1 to "Interview to Associated Press of India on Bardoli", 20-7-1928.

Just as a child who, in his innocence, lets go a useful object and asks for a toy, the Government is giving up a useful thing like justice and is clinging to the toy of prestige. And the more the Government tries to cling to this prestige, the further it recedes. At the end of the struggle, the Government will incur disgrace rather than earn a good name.

The enquiry to which the Government has consented is different from what the satyagrahis want. They do not demand an enquiry in order to examine omissions, commissions or any factual errors. Those mistakes are apparent to anyone who sees the pages of the Enquiry Committee's reports. It is their contention that the Enquiry Committee has not carried out the enquiry according to the provisions of law. Therefore they want that the entire enquiry should be conducted afresh. So long as this is not done, people would not get justice, whatever type of enquiry is undertaken. Hence the terms of reference for the enquiry should be made clear at the very outset. The people of Bardoli or Valod do not say that there has been injustice only in two or three cases, but that the whole enquiry is full of mistakes. The case of the satyagrahis is that the Government does not have adequate basis in their rules and regulations for collecting revenue on a higher assessment. Hence, the burden of proof that there is such justification falls on the Government. This should have been clearly stated in the terms of reference of the Enquiry Committee, but this was not done.

Again another condition is absolutely necessary. The Committee should also enquire whether Government was justified in adopting a policy of oppression in the collection of revenue.

Whatever redress can be given to the people should be with regard to the hardships suffered by them as a result of this policy. They lost health; their cattle became weak, some of them died. Misfortunes such as these are inevitable in a satyagraha struggle. People should not ask for compensation in these matters. But what of those who are in jail, of those whose land has been confiscated and of those whose property has been sold away at ridiculously low prices? Hence, if a settlement is indeed to be arrived at and if the Government wishes to do justice, no sooner is the document for the settlement[1] drawn up than the following should be done:

1. Satyagrahi prisoners should be released.
2. Land attached (whether sold or not) should be returned to the owners.

[1] For the terms of Bardoli Settlement, *vide* Appendix III.

3. The market price of buffaloes, liquor, etc., which have been auctioned or sold should be paid back.
4. If *talatis* or *patels* have been dismissed from service, they should get back their posts, or permission should be granted to those who had tendered resignations to withdraw them.
5. Other punishments inflicted on account of satyagraha alone should be revoked.

None of these is to be found in the Government's Press Note. I do not know of any other truce in which there has been such a one-sided decision as the Government has taken in this case. These are the conditions which must be laid down in regard to the enquiry before it actually begins.

However, the Government continues to demand that the excess of revenue be kept in deposit. If it wants to persist in this demand, where was the need to invite Shri Vallabhbhai to Surat? What need was there for H.E. the Governor to take the trouble to visit Surat? The Government holds that the reasons for this demand are clear enough. It appears to me that, except the Government, no one has any clear notion about these reasons. It does not seem that any impartial individual has favourably considered this demand for depositing the amount of the additional assessment. English newspapers like *The Pioneer* and *The Statesman*, which are the mouthpieces of the British, also favour the policy adopted by the satyagrahis and congratulate them on not overstepping their limits. I have found it impossible to understand why the Government is clinging to its obstinate demand for the excess revenue being kept in deposit. It should not have the misapprehension that, if the people lose the case, they would not pay the increased revenue; because the Government always has the means for collecting it. Underlying this obstinacy is an absence of faith in Vallabhbhai and the people. How can he or anyone who loves self-respect tolerate such an insult? This obstinacy of the Government brings to the surface its meanness and wickedness.

The path of the satyagrahi is well-defined. He should always be prepared for a just settlement; if this is not achieved, he should not be disappointed, but should always be ready to fight for it. The satyagrahi is fortunate in that, in his struggle, there is absolutely no need for any ammunition or external weapon. Therefore he is ready whenever it falls to his lot to take part in a struggle.

On seeing the Government Note, Vallabhbhai felt no necessity to continue any longer negotiations for a settlement. However, although prepared for battle, the satyagrahi should, as men-

tioned above, not give up the hope for a settlement. Hence he would not forgo a single opportunity for it. It is the profession of a satyagrahi to melt even a stone-like heart.

The farmer of Bardoli should not look up to Surat, Bombay or Simla. He has to look up to God, to the All-knowing, and keep his pledge, and for its fulfilment be ready to embrace death or ruin himself. His pledge should be kept even at the cost of life.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 22-7-1928

102. MY NOTES

My Relations with Bardoli

There is no need for me to explain to the readers of *Navajivan* my connection with the Bardoli struggle. But it has become necessary to state it clearly because a dangerous rumour has been spread lately. Let it be known to the readers that I have associated myself with the Bardoli Satyagraha from its very beginning. Its leader is Shri Vallabhbhai and he can take me to Bardoli whenever he needs me. Not that he needs my advice; but, while taking any important decisions, he consults me. He does all the work whether small or big on his own responsibility. I do not go to attend the meetings, etc., but this is an understanding reached between him and me before the struggle began. My health does not permit me to carry on all kinds of activities. That is why he has taken a vow not to take me anywhere in Ahmedabad or elsewhere in Gujarat without sufficient justification, and he has kept this vow to the letter. I have full sympathy with all the steps undertaken in the struggle. I have full sympathy with the steps that may be taken by Vallabhbhai in the dangerous situation which may possibly arise now. And if he is arrested, I am fully prepared to go to Bardoli. Neither he nor I have seen any need for me to go to Bardoli or take any active part so long as he is there. Where complete mutual trust exists, there is no room for outward show or politeness.

The Influence of the Spinning-wheel

Bhai Fulchand, the soul of the Wadhwan Rashtriya Educational Society, has been in the Bardoli struggle right from the beginning. He is at present working in Vedchhi. He writes from there:[1]

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had described the beneficial results following the introduction of the spinning-wheel in Vedchhi

Those who have no faith in the spinning-wheel may questic the claim that Bhai Fulchand has made for the spinning-whe and say that the same result can be achieved by any other kir of industry. Although it is true that a good deed produces goc results, nevertheless, there is always some difference between or type of industry and another. Some occupations build up a man physique, others strengthen the mind, yet others bring peac while some make him restless. I have already quoted the opinion an experienced teacher of Scotland that working on the spinnin wheel is such an occupation that, if a restless and unsteac person takes to it, he becomes peaceful and steady. A fier tempered person will be able to give up anger. Moreover, tl nature of the sentiments underlying an activity determines tl qualities which it generates. If the activity of the spinning-whe is carried on by a saintly couple and if they make the spinnin wheel the means for spreading the spirit of saintlinesss amongst tl people, this quality would then be visible in this activity. Tl advantages of the spinning-wheel which are seen in Vedchhi ma not be seen everywhere. Hence it can be said that the fea lessness and frankness which Bhai Fulchand notices around Ve chhi owe their existence not to the spinning-wheel, but to Bh Chunilal and his wife. They have spun their good qualities arour the spinning-wheel. It can certainly be claimed that they we able to spread these qualities through the spinning-wheel wi much greater ease than they could have done through any oth means.

The same is true of the Bhajan Mandali. Through a Bhaj Mandali, fraud can be spread, and such a Bhajan Mandali ca also be an everlasting medium for the spread of purity. There no doubt that the Mandali has played an important role the Bardoli struggle, and the root of these two activities is religion. If the Bardoli struggle had not been carried on throu the medium of religious sentiment, the success that it has achiev today would never have been gained. Consciously or unconscio ly people crave for religion. They saw religion in satyagra and in the commander of the satyagrahis; hence, they follow him and we can see signs that they will do so to the end.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 22-7-1928

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and propaganda done by the Bhajan Mandali for khadi, prohibition a other good causes.

103. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

July 22, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have got out of bed just now at 1 o'clock, through mistake. You have spotted the verse[1] correctly. What is it which brings on fever? You do not get it merely because you may have gone out in the rain. The body must have been predisposed to it. One may certainly point out someone's mistake, but that should be done out of love. You must have received the umbrella. The common kitchen is flourishing.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN
KANYA GURUKULA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 485. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

104. A LETTER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 22, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I had full discussion with Sjt. Gulzarilal[2] who has just returned from Bombay after a preliminary study of the strike situation. He had a conference with the principal leaders of the Strike Committee. Unfortunately you were absent. The head men of the strikers came to Ahmedabad with a note from you addressed to the Labour Union. They saw me and asked me to actively assist them in making collection and even advise the Union to contribute from their Union funds. I told them I could not do so, because I did not believe in strikes being continued through doles of charity or public donations, and told them that my method was to make the strikers self-dependent by inducing them to find some work during the strike. I told them too how the first big

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Vasumati Pandit", 15-7-1928.
[2] Gulzarilal Nanda

Ahmedabad strike after my settling in Ahmedabad was organized and conducted.[1] I told them further that I had not studied the situation in Bombay and that I do not know exactly what the strikers' case was, nor did I know the leaders in the movement except you. Such being the case, I told them that I could not give active help, but that it was open to them to go amongst the mill-hands and collect what they wish to pay and I assured them that I would not directly or indirectly influence the mill-hands against payment.

But it was thought that the position should not be left at that and that as a direct appeal was made to the Union here, it was necessary to make a study of the question. Hence the visit of Sjt. Gulzarilal to Bombay. My discussion with him has not satisfied me that the Labour Union could go further than it has done. I now want your guidance, knowing my views now as you do, what . . .[2]

From a microfilm: S.N. 13237

105. AN APPEAL TO GOVERNMENT[3]

By the time this appears in print probably the Bombay Government would have made its final decision on the Bardoli question. I am framing this appeal on Monday afternoon when probably the Governor is making his statement before the Council. I know too that the appeal will fall on deaf ears. But as a satyagrahi, it is not for me to yield to my fear but to do what is right in disregard of consequence. As one intimately connected with the movement, it is perhaps my duty to appeal to the Government to desist from a course which has been universally condemned and which, so far as I am able to judge impartially, cannot be defended on any ground whatsoever.

The offer made at Surat is less than what according to reliable rumour had been offered privately. The conditions named by Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel have been the conditions always contemplated by him and in various ways conveyed to the Government. He has asked for nothing that has not always been done

[1] The reference is to the Ahmedabad mill-hands' strike in 1918; *vide* Vol. XIV.

[2] The source is incomplete.

[3] Written on "Monday", July 23, 1928; *vide* also "Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel", 24-7-1928.

in honourable settlements. If it is acknowledged, as it has been acknowledged even in unexpected quarters, that the people of Bardoli and Valod have undergone terrible sufferings for the sake of what to them is a matter of principle, they have not done so merely to have an inquiry by a subordinate revenue official into individual cases which the inquiry proposed by the Government amounts to in fact; nor can the people be expected to forgo valuable land which they contend has been wrongly forfeited; nor yet can they as honourable men and women leave in the lurch those who have been wrongly made to suffer. The Government offer means that although the people have done wrong in refusing payment of the enhancement, they would graciously reopen individual cases if the people will cease to do wrong and if they will deposit the very amount which they say is wrongly imposed on them. This is a position which no leader worth the name can possibly subscribe to, when he has no conviction of such wrong on the part of the people and when on the contrary he has the deep conviction that the people are altogether in the right and the Government hopelessly in the wrong.

But Sjt. Vallabhbhai does not make, like the Government, impossible conditions. He does not ask the Government to own themselves to be in the wrong. His letter reduced to one sentence asks the Government to refer the question of right or wrong to a committee of the Government's choice with the only reasonable proviso that it will adequately represent the people. And in making his counter proposal he asks the Government to recognize the natural and logical consequence of such an impartial committee, viz., to revert to the *status quo ante bellum*. I venture to suggest that he would be guilty of a gross breach of trust if he asked for or took less. In his proposal there is no humiliation intended or implied of the Government. His reasonableness and anxiety to come to any honourable compromise limits him to the barest minimum. For it is surely open to him to raise the whole question of the revenue policy of the Government and ask for damages for the terrible losses suffered by the people during the past four months without any fault of theirs.

Two courses are open to the Government—either to bow to the public opinion of all India and accept Sjt. Vallabhbhai's offer or in order to uphold a false prestige to reassert the doctrine of frightfulness. If it is not too late, I appeal to the Bombay Government to take the way of truth.

Young India, 26-7-1928

106. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU[1]

July 23, 1928

FEAR YOU SHOULD SHOULDER BURDEN ESPECIALLY FOR BENGAL'S SAKE. WIRED SEN GUPTA.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13645

107. TELEGRAM TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

July 23, 1928

HAVE WIRED MOTILALJI HE SHOULD WEAR CROWN SPECIALLY FOR BENGAL'S SAKE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13645

[1] In reply to Motilal Nehru's letter dated July 19 which concluded: "Please wire your decision about the 'crown' after considering the enclosed correspondence and the communications you may have received." Motilal Nehru had forwarded two letters (S.N. 13646) which he had received. One of them was dated July 16 from Subhas Chandra Bose reading: "I cannot tell you how disappointed the whole of Bengal will feel if for any reason you decline Congress Presidentship. Your close association with the work and policy of Swaraj Party is one of several reasons for which your name is universally acceptable in this province. . . . " And the second one was dated July 17 from J. M. Sen Gupta reading: "Yesterday I received a telegram from Mahatmaji telling me that you were disinclined to accept the Presidentship of the Congress. The news came to me like a shock. . . . We are unanimous in sending a reply by wire telling Mahatmaji in strong terms to press you to get over your disinclination. . . . We *must* have you. . . . You must come and lead us in this political crisis at home and abroad. . . ." *Vide* also "Letter to Subhas Chandra Bose", 18-7-1928.

108. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 24, 1928

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I think we should give the briefest reply to the Governor's speech[1] in which he has tried hard to mislead the people. A long reply to such a thing would be harmful. Hence, I send a short one.[2] I wrote an article[3] in *Young India* yesterday. I did not feel like revising it in the light of the speech and stopped writing any further. Whatever you tell us from there will suffice us. We shall see to it next week. But today one thought keeps dwelling in my mind. The 14 days ahead are very critical; therefore not one word should be uttered from our side which may impede the settlement if at all there were to be a settlement. So I suggest that you come here for a few days if you are not needed there or, if you wish, I shall join you there. Now they must arrest you; therefore I must reach there in advance. The decision on these two points should be yours. On them not I but you are responsible because I do not know the state of affairs there.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro — 2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, pp. 13-4

109. CROWN OF THORNS

The Congress crown has ceased to be a crown of roses. The rose petals are year by year falling off and the thorns are becoming more and more prominent. Who should wear such a crown? Father or the son? Pandit Motilalji the weather-beaten warrior or Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the disciplined young soldier who by his sterling worth has captured the imagination of the youth of the country? Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel's name is naturally on everybody's lips. Panditji says in a private letter that he as the hero of the hour should be elected and the Government should be made to know that he enjoys the fullest confidence of the nation.

[1] In the Council on July 23

[2] *Vide* "Notes" 26-7-1928, sub-title, "Sjt. Vallabhbhai's Reply".

[3] *Vide* "An Appeal to Government", 23-7-1928.

Sjt. Vallabhbhai is however out of the question just now. His hands are too full to allow of his attention being diverted from Bardoli. And before December comes upon us he may be a guest in one of His Majesty's innumerable prisons. My own feeling in the matter is that Pandit Jawaharlal should wear the crown. The future must be for the youth of the country. But Bengal wants Motilalji to guide the Congress barque through the perilous seas that threaten to overwhelm us during the coming year. We are torn within and are encircled by an enemy that is as unscrupulous as he is powerful. Bengal has special need of an older head and one moreover who has proved a tower of strength to her in the hour of her trial. If India as a whole has no easy time before her, Bengal has still less. There are a thousand reasons why Panditji should be chosen to wear the crown of thorns. He is brave, he is generous, he enjoys the confidence of all parties; Mussalmans acknowledge him as their friend, he commands the respect of his opponents and often bends them to his view by his forceful eloquence. He has moreover deep down in him a spirit of conciliation and compromise which makes him an eminently worthy ambassador of a nation that is in need of and is in the mood to take an honourable compromise. It is these considerations which actuate even the dare-all Bengal patriot[1] to want Pandit Motilal Nehru as the helmsman for the coming year. Let the impatient youth of the country wait a while. They will be all the stronger for the waiting.

Young India, 26-7-1928

110. *NOTES*

Sjt. Vallabhbhai's Reply

Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel has issued the following statement[2] to the Press in reply to His Excellency's Council speech on the 23rd instant:

> I must confess that I was unprepared for the threatening deliverance of His Excellency the Governor. But threats apart, I want to remove the confusion that the speech is consciously or unconsciously intended to create. The Governor says in effect that if civil disobedience is the issue, he is

[1] Subhas Chandra Bose; *vide* "Telegram to Subhas Chandra Bose", 23-7-1928.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel", 24-7-1928.

prepared to meet it with all the power which Government possesses, but "if the only question to be dealt with is the justice or injustice of the re-assessment, then Government is prepared to submit the whole case, after the revenue now due to the Government has been paid and the present agitation ceases, to a full, open and independent inquiry as outlined in the statement which has been published". I venture to point out that civil disobedience has never been the issue. I know that there is no unanimity of opinion amongst all parties about the wisdom or legitimacy of civil disobedience. I have my own opinion which I hold strongly about it. But the Bardoli people are not fighting in order to have the right of civil disobedience vindicated. They are fighting by way of civil disobedience—or whatever name the method adopted may be given—in order to induce the Government either to waive the enhancement, or if they are not convinced that the enhancement is improperly made to appoint an impartial, independent inquiry to find out the truth. The only question therefore is that of justice or injustice of the re-assessment. And if the Government are prepared to have that question examined by a "full, open and independent inquiry", they must surely accept the logical consequence of the proposition they themselves lay down, namely, not to insist upon the payment of the enhancement which is in dispute and to restore the people to the condition they occupied before the struggle commenced. I warn the public also about the qualifying clause that is attached to "the full, open and independent inquiry", viz., "as outlined in the statement which has been published". This is a dangerous clause. For what is promised in the Surat communication is not "a full, open and independent inquiry" but a mockery of it. The Surat statement contemplates a very limited inquiry to be conducted by a revenue officer assisted by a judicial officer to investigate errors of calculation and fact, and totally different thing from "a full, open and independent inquiry". I hope therefore that undeterred by the threats contained in the Governor's deliverance, public opinion will concentrate only on the one point that I have mentioned.

A Triumph of Justice

There is in Wardha a well-known and very well decorated shrine dedicated to Shri Lakshminarayana. It was built by Sheth Jamnalalji's grandfather. It is a private temple made accessible

to the public. Jamnalalji has been endeavouring to have this temple available to the so-called untouchables also, as he has been trying with great success to have wells in Wardha made accessible to them and generally to procure for them all the facilities available to the other classes. He had difficulty with the trustees in bringing them round to his view that this select temple should be thrown open to those whom blind orthodoxy has suppressed. Success has at last attended his effort. On the 17th instant the trustees unanimously passed the following resolution:

> Whereas the question of admitting the so-called untouchables inside the temple of Shri Lakshminarayana has been before the Committee on several occasions and they have been unable to come to a firm decision till now; and whereas the most representative body in India, namely, the Congress has insisted upon the removal of untouchability and whereas the Hindu Mahasabha has considered it necessary and just that all public temples should be made accessible to the so-called untouchables; and whereas the well-known leaders of public opinion in India have expressed the same opinion, the trustees hereby resolve, regard being had to the foregoing facts and after full consideration of the religious and the social condition of the country, that the above-named temple dedicated to Shri Lakshminarayana in Wardha be declared open to the 'untouchables' and that the managing trustee, Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj, be authorized to enforce this resolution in such manner as may appear to him to be best.

Accordingly a printed notice was widely circulated in Wardha that from the 19th instant, that is, two days after the resolution, the temple would be declared open for the 'untouchables'. It is stated that although there was no organized effort made beyond circulating the foregoing notice, nearly 1,200 men and women and children including 'untouchables' visited the temple without the slightest untoward incident having occurred. It is most significant that in an important centre like Wardha a celebrated temple could be flung open for the 'untouchables' without orthodoxy raising its voice of protest or some people in the name of sanatana dharma creating a disturbance at the time of 'untouchables' trying to cross the sacred and hitherto forbidden threshold of a Hindu shrine. It is a striking demonstration of the tremendous headway that the movement against untouchability has made. It shows too what quiet determination and persistence can do to create healthy public opinion in favour of a genuine movement for reform. I congratulate Sheth Jamnalalji and his fellow-trustees on the bold step that they have taken and hope that this example will be followed all over India.

Purdah in Bihar

The organized demonstration against the *purdah* that was held in many important centres in Bihar on the 8th instant was, a Bihari friend's letter tells me, successful beyond the expectations of the organizers. *The Searchlight* report of the Patna meeting opens thus:

> A unique spectacle was witnessed at the mixed meeting of ladies and gentlemen of the 8th July held at Patna in the Radhika Sinha Institute on Sunday last. In spite of heavy rains that fortunately stopped just at the time of the meeting, the gathering was unexpectedly large. In fact half of the spacious hall of the Radhika Sinha Institute was crowded with ladies, three-fourths of whom were such as had been observing *purdah* a day before, nay, an hour before.

The following is the translation of the resolution adopted at the meeting:

> We, the men and women of Patna, assembled hereby declare that we have today abolished the pernicious practice of *purdah*, which has done and is doing incalculable harm to the country, and particularly to women, and we appeal to the other women of the province, who are still wavering, to banish this system as early as they can and thereby advance their education and health.

A provisional committee was formed at the meeting to carry on an intensive propaganda against *purdah* and for the spread of women's education in the province of Bihar. A third resolution advised the formation of Mahila Samitis in every town and every village of the province. And a fourth resolution was passed to the effect that Mahila Ashrams should be started at different places where ladies might stay for certain periods and receive a training so as to become 'good wives', 'worthy mothers' and 'useful servants' of the country. Over 5,000 rupees were promised on the spot for the purpose and I see many ladies among the donors, giving anything between Rs. 250 and 25. The paper publishes reports of similar meetings in several places in Bihar. If the campaign is well organized and continued with zeal, the *purdah* should become a thing of the past. It should be noted that this is no Anglicizing movement. It is an indigenous conservative effort made by leaders who are conservative by nature and are yet alive to all the evils that have crept into Hindu society. Babu Brijkishore Prasad and Babu Rajendra Prasad who from far-off London is keenly watching and supporting the movement are no westernized specimens of Indian humanity. They are orthodox Hindus,

lovers of Indian culture and tradition. They are no blind imitators of the West and yet do not hesitate to assimilate whatever is good in it. There need therefore be no fear entertained by the timid and the halting ones that the movement is likely to be in any shape or form disruptive of all that is most precious in Indian culture and especially in feminine grace and modesty so peculiar to India's womanhood.

ASHRAM CONSTITUTION AND RULES

Since the publication of the draft constitution and rules of the Satyagraha Ashram, there has been a constant demand for copies. Postage alone amounts to not an insignificant item. Those who would possess a copy of the constitution will kindly send one anna stamp to cover the charge of packing and posting.

A CORRECTION

Sjt. Gokulbhai Patel who was the bearer of cheques for Bardoli from Santa Cruz and Vile Parle draws my attention to a mistake occurring in the acknowledgement made in *Young India* of these gifts. The names that should have appeared under the heading Vile Parle have appeared under the heading Santa Cruz. I am sorry for the mistake. In spite of all the care taken to ensure accuracy on the part of an overworked staff, mistakes will occur. The generous reader will forgive them when they are not wilful or worse.

Young India, 26-7-1928

111. LETTER TO SUPERINTENDENT, AHMEDABAD CENTRAL PRISON

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 26, 1928

SIR,

I have your letter of the 24th instant. I have no desire to enter into a prolonged correspondence. Your letter does not enable me to alter the view expressed in mine of the 21st instant.[1] If you do not think that the persons whom you saw were inmates of the Ashram, I fail to see how the Ashram could be called upon to enquire who the parties were and warn them. And I fail also to understand that a trespasser is not a trespasser if he is treated courteously by

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Superintendent, Ahmedabad Central Prison", 21-7-1928.

those against whom he commits a trespass. You may be interested to know we try to treat courteously even thieves and robbers.

You will pardon me for not referring to Sjt. Kothari or Sjt. Kalelkar to prove the civility of your officials when I have your own correspondence in front of me.

Yours faithfully,

From a photostat: S.N. 13486

112. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
[Before *July 27, 1928*][1]

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter also. We should not at all worry on account of Nikhil. If God does not wish to take any service from Nikhil in this birth, He may well take him away.

Love of children or husband or friend, all mean the same. We should sublimate all loves into the love of God because ultimately we all have to merge in God as rivers merge into the sea. Where then is Ganga or Yamuna? If you can regard all boys as Anil and Nikhil, your grief will be no more. Those who are attached to self have sons to be counted as one, two, three and so on. Those who are not have innumerable sons.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1652

113. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

July 27, 1928

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

The within writing is a copy of the cable sent to you in reply to yours. I have no time to spare just now. Subbiah has gone to Madras to put his pregnant wife with her parents. Mahadeo is still laid up though he is otherwise quite well.

I am sending you five copies of Autobiography.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2628

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Hemprabha Das Gupta", 27-7-1928.

114. LETTER TO G. V. SUBBA RAO

July 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I shall most certainly keep an open mind. You shall see me whenever I come. Nothing would please me better than to find myself to have been in error regarding the deceased friend whose many merits I was not unaware of.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. G. V. SUBBA RAO
INDIAN BANK, BEZWADA, SOUTH INDIA

From a photostat: G.N. 3626

115. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

[July 27, 1928][2]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I felt worried yesterday and, therefore, sent a wire. Having received the reply today, I am at ease. The fever has lasted very long. Keep up your courage. Do not get frightened. Do not forget our principle of looking upon every place which we visit as our own home and accepting any service that is absolutely necessary. False pride and false shame are our enemies. I must get a letter from you every day and you should write or dictate every detail in it. Today is the last day of the seven-day fast undertaken by Nanibehn for the sake of her health.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN
KANYA GURUKULA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 486. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to G. V. Subba Rao", 21-7-1928.
[2] From the postmark

116. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

July 27, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

What shall I say to you? We were all prepared for Nikhil's passing away. He is relieved of his pain. He was such a wise and sober lad that he must have attained divine life. Satis Babu has amazed us all by his absolute calm. I expect the same calm from you all.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1659

117. GOVERNOR'S THREAT

It seems that the governing class in India refuses to learn even from experience. They act as if they are not aware that the people have got over the fear of threats. Not only threats make no impact on hundreds of thousands of people, but also a do-or-die class has now come into being on which even the carrying out of threats has no effect whatsoever. What can punishment inflicted by the State do to those who have given up the fear of death and the infatuation for possessions? What effect can a threat have upon those who love their self-respect above everything else? Hence the Governor's threat and Earl Winterton's full endorsement of it cannot have any influence on the people of Bardoli. On the contrary, I learn that it has made the latter more resolute.

But it is not our intention to analyse the Government's threat. We are aware that the Government has the ability to implement it; it will not allow us to forget this even if we wish to. Our prestige lies in assuming that the Government will act in accordance with its threats and in being prepared to welcome its wrath. The people of Bardoli should inscribe on their doors the proverbial saying, "He who is on his guard is always happy", and they should always be on their guard. Vallabhbhai had warned the people at the very beginning of the struggle, saying:

> If you wish to offer resistance, you will have to face perils. The Government will seize your possessions, confiscate your land, sell your possessions

> at ridiculous prices, evict you from your land; it may even shoot you down. Yet do not turn your backs but receive the showers of bullets on your chests as if they were flowers.

Those who remember these words need no further warning.

But we are not concerned with the wrath of the Government. It is the ruler who has the monopoly of getting angry; we do not want to be angry at the wrath of the Government. A satyagrahi has no right to be angry. We wish to win over anger by an absence of it in ourselves. Even if the Government utters angry words, we do not wish to swerve from the path of truth. Whether the Government gets angry or not, our demand should remain the same. The Governor has made a speech as fiery as the lava of a volcano. Although the unintelligible Government Note issued at Surat is regarded as its final word, we keep hearing a talk of settlement. We need not worry whether the Government has a hand in these or not; but even if there is a single door open to settlement, we should be eager to enter through it. When people who are determined to sacrifice their lives give up discretion, they are no longer fearless men but indiscreet, ignorant persons. He who unnecessarily sacrifices himself is considered either insane or stupid, and his death not being a courageous one is of no advantage either to himself or to anyone else.

Although the people of Bardoli and Valod have the right to make more demands, they have not acted on that right. But now that the Government has crossed all bounds of decency, they cannot make any more demands. The satyagrahis need:

1. An independent and impartial committee to hear their complaints and give justice.

2. Implementation of the conditions which should form the basis of such a committee, i.e., (a) release of those who have been imprisoned in conneetion with the struggle; (b) release of lands which have been confiscated in connection with the struggle; and (c) restoration of the direct losses suffered by the people and by other individuals for the sake of the people.

The satyagrahis have every right to demand compensation for the indirect loss that people have suffered in respect of their cattle and property, yet they do not do so. If they ask for it, it would not be regarded as a sign of compromise. A satyagrahi always starts satyagraha after preparing himself to sacrifice his life and property. Hence, the satyagrahi will not ask for any compensation for any indirect loss which has resulted from the policy of repression.

Once the Government accepts the above demands of the people, it would become the people's dharma to pay the revenue arrears at once. I take it that the people have always kept themselves in readiness to pay them. At some time or other, these will have to be paid. A newspaper report has reproduced a telegram sent by a gentleman from Bombay who has offered to pay the additional levy of land revenue against the injustice of which the satyagraha movement was started. If he has decided to present that sum to the Government, no one can stop him. If the Government feels satisfied by such a gift, we have no grudge against it. Whether that gentleman of Bardoli Taluk, settled in Bombay, has done harm to himself or to the people by offering that money cannot be judged today. If the Government is satisfied with the paying up of what should be regarded as an insignificant increase in assessment and, if it is possible to arrive at a settlement, it is the dharma of the satyagrahis to do so.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-7-1928

118. MY NOTES

WE OURSELVES SHOULD DO IT

A young gentleman writes from Cambay:[1]

I regard feasts given at marriages and similar occasions as pardonable, but would consider feasts given at the ceremony performed at the time of *simant*[2] as shameful, and also would consider it sinful to give a feast after anyone's death, whether it is for the 12th or the 13th day, whether it is for the old or the young. All feasts seem to me meaningless and uncivilized. I cannot understand why we allow the daily needs of the body to become means of enjoyment. My weakness may tolerate such things, but if we do not become slaves to tradition, we would not attend feasts given after death or at the *simant* ceremony. Our own conduct may be something commendable, but we should not feel hurt if parents, wives or grown-up children do not follow it. We cannot force our

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked whether Gandhiji could do something in order to influence the wives and elders of those young men who, as a result of reading *Navajivan*, had given up attending feasts given on occasions such as death, *simant*, etc. He had also wished to know whether it was proper for Jain sadhus not to condemn such feasts.

[2] Religious ceremony held during first pregnancy

views on them. We should have the faith that, if our conduct is pure, others will be affected by it. I do not know what the Jain sadhus do, but if they remain indifferent about the evil customs of society, I have no doubt that it is improper.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 29-7-1928

119. BOYCOTT OR NON-CO-OPERATION

A friend writes:[1]

Nowadays, when there is restlessness, violence and impatience in the minds of the people, even the best of things are misused. At such a time, if we use the words boycott and non-co-operation and if we use individual or collective adjectives before these words, it is bound to be misunderstood. Hence, we should merely suggest the limitation of each thing and, while putting it into practice, fully bear in mind those limitations and be satisfied. Even in individual boycott or non-co-operation, there ought not to be the slightest degree of *himsa*. I do not suggest hatred towards those who in old age marry young girls. These persons are to be pitied. When the passion of enmity possesses a man he loses his senses. The most sacred relationships are obliterated. This intoxication is even worse than that of drink. Therefore, remembering our own weaknesses and faults, we should pity the old men who are full of lust. But to pity them and to co-operate with them are two distinct things. True compassion has no room for blind love or infatuation. Hence, anyone who has erred is guilty of an offence against society and it is extremely important that he should be made to realize it. And that realization can be brought about only through boycott or non-co-operation. It may be imparted either by punishing the offender or by depriving him of rights which society has given him on certain terms. There is a difference beween depriving them of the rights and punishing them. It is one thing if I employ a person as a servant, believing that he is honest, and dismiss him upon finding him to be not. But it is another if I give him physical punishment, or deprive him of his house, etc., or register a

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that it was likely that people might boycott the entire family of an old man who married a young girl, whereas the proper thing would be to boycott the individual alone.

complaint with the authorities and get him punished. And if I do not punish him or get·him punished, would I at all tolerate such treatment to his family or relatives? Actually, when the element of punishment or violence enters into boycott or non-co-operation, it ceases to be a powerful weapon, because the one who inflicts it becomes an offender himself while the latter, believing that he has done *prayaschitta* for his acts becomes more confirmed in his viciousness and ready to repeat the offence, if occasion arises. It is because of this that till today the infliction of punishment or violence has not prevented sin or crime. I have therefore suggested in all my writings that the reformer should be pure and respectful and that all his acts should be non-violent or full of love. Thus I have suggested that boycott should mean that we do not accept any service from the one who is boycotted; that we put up with inconvenience and deny him any special rights. However, we should render him service when the need arises. The person who is boycotted thus cannot attend a community feast. If we have made him a professor, that position should be taken away from him. If he is a teacher and we happen to be studying under him, we should discontinue doing so. If he happens to be our tenant, he should cease to be one. But if he is ill, he can avail himself of our services. If he is suffering from hunger for no fault of his, we should give him food. This is just by way of illustration. In short, we should think consciously and should never wish or do to others what we do not wish done to ourselves.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 29-7-1928

120. LETTER TO JETHALAL JOSHI

July 29, 1928

BHAISHRI JETHALAL,

It is certainly not a fast if you eat fruits. The aim behind a fast may be purification of the body or of the mind or of both. A fast contributes very little to purification of the mind. You will find the replies to the other questions in *Niyamavali*[1].

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1352

[1] Booklet on rules for the inmates of the Ashram

121. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

July 29, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

Your illness has lasted too long now. How is your cough? I feel all the time that the courses of treatment employed in the Ashram and its air would help you to recover in the shortest possible time. But you must cling to that place with a firm mind. I hope you are not swallowing too many medicines. Though I write thus, I don't wish that you should remain there anyhow. If at any time you wish to come over here, please write to me. I must get a report of your health every day.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Please tell Vidyavatiji that I got her letter.

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN
KANYAVIDYALAYA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 487. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

122. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

July 30, 1928

BHAI CHHAGANLAL JOSHI,

Keep this in the office. If you have anything to say about this matter, please do. It would be worth while to consider the last item in the Managing Committee.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 11804

123. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

July 30, 1928

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter. Rest assured that I am ready to start on the very day that I get your message that I should do so. I suppose you intend to send your call before the fourteen days' sand runs out of the glass, that is, before Sunday. If I am right, it is not necessary to send Mahadev today. I cannot say that he is completely all right. Whatever the state of his health, he will of course accompany me. If, however, you require his presence immediately, send a wire and he will start tomorrow. He is not so bad now that he cannot go. He takes care when sitting down or getting up and walking. My only aim is to save him from the jerks in the train for as many days as possible.

I shall think and decide tomorrow what we should do about the workers' school. Krishnalal has arrived here. The money which is lying with the Provincial Committee may remain where it is. He may do what he likes in the matter. My idea was that the Ashram should take possession of it. I have not given up that idea, but we shall think about the matter when we meet if there is still time for it then. At the moment, you have one foot in the stirrup and who knows when you will be astride the horse?

Improve your health. There was another cable from Andrews as follows:

> *Times*, *Guardian* both published my communication. *Guardian* gave friendly editorial. Cable further important developments.[1]

I am now thinking what further information we can cable.[2]

There was a letter from Munshi. Mahadev will enclose with this a copy of my reply to him.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14454

[1] The source has this in English.

[2] *Vide* the following item.

124. CABLE TO C. F. ANDREWS[1]

[On or after *July 30, 1928*]

SITUATION WORSE. GOVERNMENT SEEMS DETERMINED HUMILIATE SATYAGRAHIS AND THEIR LEADERS AND INSIST ON ABJECT ACCEPTANCE BY COUNCIL MEMBERS REPRESENTING SURAT DISTRICT OF UNINTELLIGIBLE TERMS WELL KNOWING THESE MEMBERS HAVE NO INFLUENCE IN BARDOLI. SITUATION THUS FORCED HOPELESSLY UNREAL. BARDOLI PEOPLE REPORTED ABSOLUTELY FIRM. READY FOR ANY SUFFERING. PAPERS PREDICT ARREST VALLABHBHAI AND CO-WORKERS ON EXPIRY GOVERNOR'S ULTIMATUM. EXPECT REACH BARDOLI ANY DAY UPON VALLABHBHAI'S CALL.

MOHAN

From a microfilm: S.N. 13264

125. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 31, 1928

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. Today I was expecting a wire calling me there. I had held myself in full readiness.

I am not writing much just now as Bhai Nariman and Haribhai are expected here. Our line is clear. We can give up neither the *talatis* nor the lands. The Enquiry Committee's enquiry must be comprehensive. We cannot afford to let its scope be restricted in any way. Let Kaye and Davis be appointed if you think fit. Please wire the date on which you expect me there.

Manibehn came and saw me. She is much pulled down. It is good that you have sent her. For the present she will live in the city. She says she will come on the fifth. Bhai Nariman and Haribhai have come and met me. I think it desirable that you

[1] In reply to his cable dated July 28; *vide* the preceding item.

should go if you receive a call through the members of the Legislature. The conditions [of agreement] are what we have drafted.[1]

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro — 2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 14

126. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 1, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I am dictating this before three in the morning. I trust you have not become nervous because of illness. Keep cheerful. If you feel despondent, forget your suffering and recover cheerfulness by reciting:

दुःखेष्वनुद्विग्नमनाः सुखेषु विगतस्पृहः ।
वीतरागभयक्रोधः स्थितधीर्मुनिरुच्यते ॥[2]

and meditating on its meaning. What is the name of the doctor who attends on you? What does he permit you to eat just now? I suppose you know that Nanibehn's fast has ended. I may have to go to Bardoli in a day or two.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN,
KANYA GURUKULA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 488. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

127. LETTER TO HARI-ICHCHHA DESAI

August 1, 1928

CHI. HARI-ICHCHHA,

I have had many letters from you but have not been able to reply to them. I do get news about you through Chi. Rasik.

Rasik has lost nothing by leaving school. He will learn more through experience here than he would have by attending school. There is no reason, therefore, to feel sorry at his having given up studies.

[1] *Vide* "Evil Genius of Government", 22-7-1928.

[2] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 56. "Whose mind is untroubled in sorrows and longeth not for joys, who is free from passion, fear and wrath—he is called the ascetic of secure understanding."

I had indeed expected that you would keep up the Ash atmosphere there. I hear that Prabha has forgotten it completely as you have kept it up. Take care of your he Read what you can. Continue reading of the *Ramayana*. An course there are carding and spinning.

Chi. Santok and Rukhibehn will arrive there towards the of this week. Meet them occasionally. Write to me from tim time.

To all you sisters,

Blessings
BAP

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 4907. Courtesy: Hari-ichchha Kam

128. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

August 1, 1

CHI. NARANDAS,

Mirabehn has made slivers of the finest quality out of *tolas* of cotton and given them to me. You credit them u whichever head you may decide and debit them in today's count against Behn Rajkishori[1]. I have given them to her.

B

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11806

129. *SERVICE, NOT PROTECTION*

Although the meeting (for 25th July last) of the All-I Cow-protection Association was advertised in *Young India* and H and Gujarati *Navajivan* and although circular letters were sen the members individually, even defaulters, there was an atte ance of not more than perhaps a dozen, the majority being f the Ashram itself. This was an eloquent testimony, if any needed, in support of the preamble of the draft resolution was published in these pages and unanimously adopted by meeting. Here is the full text of the resolution as amended carried at the meeting:

Inasmuch as the All-India Cow-protection Associa has not been able to command public attention and sympa

[1] A Bihar woman who had come to be trained at the Ashram Rajendra Prasad's recommendation

commensurate with the all-India character it has claimed, and inasmuch as its activities have been confined to the slow spread of the objects of the Association and especially to helping conduct a dairy and tannery at the Satyagraha Ashram in terms of the objects of the Association, and inasmuch as the subscriptions and donations are mainly confined to friends who are interested in the experiment, and inasmuch as the numerous *goshalas* and pinjrapoles which were expected to respond to and be affiliated to the Association have nearly entirely failed to do so, the existing members of the Association resolve to disband it, and not retaining the existence of the Association in any shape or form, to adopt the less pretentious title of Go Seva Sangha (Cow Service Society) and irrevocably to entrust the affairs, management and control of the funds and stock of the Association to the following permanent Standing Committee of management of the Society, viz.,

M. K. Gandhi (Chairman), Revashankar Jagjivan Jhaveri (Treasurer), Jamnalalji Bajaj, Vaijnathji Kedia, Manilal Vallabhji Kothari, Mahavirprasad Poddar, Shivlal Mulchand Shah, Parameshvariprasad Gupta, Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar, Vinoba Bhave, Chhaganlal Khushalchand Gandhi, Chhaganlal Nathubhai Joshi, Narandas Khushalchand Gandhi, Surendranath, Chimanlal Narsinhdas Shah, Pannalal Balabhai Jhaveri, Yashvant Mahadev Parnerkar, Valji Govindji Desai (Secretary), with full powers to disburse the funds, conduct the said experiments, to add to their number, to fill up vacancies caused by the resignation or the death of a member, to expel a member by a majority vote and otherwise carry out the objects of the expiring Association and to frame a constitution and rules for the management of the Society and to make such amendments thereof as may from time to time be required.

The name suggested in the published draft for the much smaller body that was to take the place of the All-India Association was 'Cow Protection Society'. The eagle eye of Sjt. Jamnalalji detected the incongruity in the name. He rightly argued that the very small body of persons mostly unknown to fame could not arrogate to themselves the function of protecting the cow, they could only and in all humility endeavour to serve the cow to the best of their ability. He therefore suggested the proper title, Go Seva Sangha, literally, Cow Service Society. This was acclaimed by those present as the better title.

The reader may know that the majority of the members of the new Society are inmates of the Ashram and then too only those who are either actually conducting the dairy and the tannery experiment or are specially interested in it. The rest are those who whole-heartedly believe in this class of constructive work as the only real means of saving the cow from inevitable destruction. It will be the duty of these workers to try to interest the shepherds and the *govals* in the science of cattle preservation. If this numerous body of men and women could be induced to take a more intelligent and humanitarian view of their occupation than which there can be nothing more honourable, half the battle is won. There is at present a close race for life being run between the cow and man in India. And if the cow is not scientifically bred and profitably used, she must eat us or be eaten by us. Whilst therefore the ambitious title and the equally ambitious constitution are withdrawn the work survives only to be done in an intenser form. I hope therefore that those who have hitherto sent donations in cash or kind to the defunct Association will help the successor. The Managing Committee will at no distant date publish the new constitution and rules. But donors need not wait for it for sending their donations.

Lastly, athough it was proper for the old Association to be disbanded it may be claimed that its existence was not altogether purposeless. It was instrumental in putting before the public valuable literature on the subject in a popular, cheap and handy form. Above all it succeeded in removing to a large extent the Hindu prejudice against tanneries. Whereas four years ago everyone laughed at the idea of tanneries being any part of a scheme of cow-protection, now everybody recognizes at least in theory their tremendous importance in cow-preservation. Again, four years ago, no one worth mentioning thought of constructive work in connection with cow-protection. The all-pervading idea was that the cow could be saved if the Mussalman could be induced not to slaughter her for Bakr Id. Now almost everyone recognizes that without the constructive work of the kind mapped out by the defunct Association the cow cannot be saved.

But before it is taken up in practice by the public at large, an ocular demonstration of the feasibility of the constructive method has to be given. That is the work inherited by the Go Seva Sangha from the parent body. I know from four years' experience how difficult it is, what patient study and labour it requires. It asks therefore for the help and prayer of those who will serve the cause of the cow — the chosen representative of the dumb creation, so

idolized by Hindu humanity and yet so ill used by reasons of its ignorance and superstition.

Young India, 2-8-1928

130. SELF-SUPPORT IS SELF-RESPECT

The suggestion has often been made in these columns that in order to make education compulsory or even available to every boy or girl wishing to receive education, our schools and colleges should become almost, if not wholly, self-supporting, not through donations or State aid or fees exacted from students, but through remunerative work done by the students themselves. This can only be done by making industrial training compulsory. Apart from the necessity which is daily being more and more recognized of students having an industrial training side by side with literary training, there is in this country the additional necessity of pursuing industrial training in order to make education directly self-supporting. This can only be done when our students begin to recognize the dignity of labour and when the convention is established of regarding ignorance of manual occupation a mark of disgrace. In America, which is the richest country in the world and where therefore perhaps there is the least need for making education self-supporting, it is the most usual thing for students to pay their way wholly or partially. Thus says the *Hindustanee Student*, the official bulletin of the Hindustan Association of America, 500, Riverside Drive, New York City:

> Approximately 50% of the American students use the summer vacation and part of their time during the academic year to earn money. "Self-supporting students are respected", writes the bulletin of the California University. With reasonable diligence a student can devote from 12 to 25 hours per week (during the academic year) to outside work without seriously interfering with college work of 12 to 16 units (credits) involving 36 to 48 hours a week . . . A student should have some sort of practical knowledge of the following: carpentry, surveying, drafting, bricklaying, plastering, auto-driving, photography, machine-shop work, dyeing, field work, general farm work, instrumental music and so on. Such common work as waiting on table for two hours, etc., is available during the academic years, which relieves a student from expenses for board. A partially self-supporting student by working during the summer vacation may save up from $150 to 200. Kansas, N.Y. University, Pittsburg, Union University, Antioch College offer 'co-operative' courses in Industrial

Engineering by which a student can earn one year's tuition fees working in industrial plants for which he also receives credit for his practical experience.

The University of Michigan has under consideration the opening of similar co-operative courses in Civil and Electrical Engineering. One year more is required to graduate in engineering by pursuing co-operative courses.

If America has to model her schools and colleges so as to enable students to earn their scholastic expenses, how much more necessary it must be for our schools and colleges? Is it not far better that we find work for poor students than that we pauperize them by providing free-studentships? It is impossible to exaggerate the harm we do to India's youth by filling their minds with the false notion that it is ungentlemanly to labour with one's hands and feet for one's livelihood or schooling. The harm done is both moral and material, indeed much more moral than material. A free scholarship lies and should lie like a load upon a conscientious lad's mind throughout his whole life. No one likes to be reminded in after-life that he had to depend upon charity for his education. Contrarily where is the person who will not recall with pride those days if he had the good fortune to have had them when he worked in a carpentry-shop or the like for the sake of educating himself mind, body and soul?

Young India, 2-8-1928

131. *LIMITATIONS OF SATYAGRAHA*

Sardar Sardul Singh is an esteemed worker. His open letter advising me to invite sympathetic civil disobedience for Bardoli demands a reply especially because it enables me to clear my own position. If Bardoli Satyagraha were a campaign of lawlessness as the Government paint it, nothing would be more tempting or more natural than sympathetic satyagraha and that too without the limits prescribed in the Sardar's letter. But the Sardar rightly says:

I find in prominent Gujarat workers a tendency to allow Bardoli peasants to be kept isolated. This impression has been created in my mind by the reports of Sjt. Vallabhbhai's speeches and your writings. Friends think that any more scruples on this point go beyond the limits of practical politics.

The Sardar's impression is correct. In order strictly to limit the scope of the struggle to the purely local and economic issue and to keep it non-political Sjt. Vallabhbhai would not let Sjt. Rajagopalachari and other leaders to go to Bardoli. It was only when the Government gave it a political character and made it an all-India issue by their coercive measures that the reins were loosened and Vallabhbhai could no longer prevent public men from going to Bardoli, though where his advice or permission was sought, he said, "Not yet."

I do not know what Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel would say to the Sardar's suggestion but I can say, "Not yet." Time has not come even for limited sympathetic satyagraha. Bardoli has still to prove its mettle. If it can stand the last heat and if the Government go to the farthest limit, nothing that I or Sjt. Vallabhbhai can do will stop the spread of satyagraha or limit the issue to a *bona-fide* re-inquiry and its logical consequences. The limit will then be prescribed by the capacity of India as a whole for self-sacrifice and self-suffering. If that manifestation is to come it will be natural and incapable of being stayed by any agency no matter how powerful. But so far as I understand the spirit of satyagraha and its working, it is the duty of Sjt. Vallabhbhai and myself to keep to the original limits in spite of the Government provocations which are strong enough even as they are to warrant the crossing of the original boundary.

The fact is that satyagraha presupposes the living presence and guidance of God. The leader depends not on his own strength but on that of God. He acts as the Voice within guides him. Very often therefore what are practical politics so-called are unrealities to him, though in the end his prove to be the most practical politics. All this may sound foolish and visionary on the eve of what bids fair to become the toughest battle that India has hitherto had to face. But I would be untrue to the nation and myself if I failed to say what I feel to be the deepest truth. If the people of Bardoli are what Vallabhbhai believes them to be, all will be well, in spite of the use of all the weapons that the Government may have at its command. Let us wait and see. Only let the M.L.C.s and others who are interested in compromises not take a single weak step in the hope of saving the people of Bardoli. They are safe in the hands of God.

Young India, 2-8-1928

132. NOTES

Foreign Propaganda

I observe that my cablegram[1] to Deenabandhu Andrews has given rise to the opinion that I have changed my views and that I have now begun to pin my faith to foreign propaganda. Let me hasten to clear any such misunderstanding. My views about foreign propaganda remain what they were in 1920 and before. My cablegram to the Deenabandhu was in reply to his. A close friend though he is, I never worried him over the Bardoli affair. But when he sent me a cable asking me to acquaint him from time to time with particulars, I could not resist him. And if this is called foreign propaganda, I should still prosecute it and advise others to do likewise with their friends in England or elsewhere. But when it comes to sending people from here or establishing an agency for such propaganda my soul rebels against it and tells me that we are beating the wind. The foreign public is not eager to listen to our talk or writings however cogent and truthful they may be. They expect and would eagerly learn about our deeds. The field for our propaganda is here and now. And when we have made good our position in our own country, the rest will follow.

Indian Shipping

The tragic history of the ruin of the national village industry of cotton manufacture in India is also the history of the ruin of Indian shipping. The rise of Lancashire on the ruin of the chief industry of India almost required the destruction of Indian shipping.

It will be remembered that in 1923 the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee was appointed in order to explore among other things the means of encouraging indigenous shipping "by a system of bounties, subsidies, etc." Its timid and overcautious recommendations provide for the reservation of the coastal traffic for Indian shipping. Sjt. Sarabhai Haji now seeks through two bills to secure legislative effect for the recommendations of the Committee. One bill aims at the abrogation of unhealthy monopolies and the other aims in five years at the passing of all the tonnage of the coastal traffic into the hands predominantly of Indians.

[1] *Vide* "Cable to C.F. Andrews", On or after 30-7-1928.

Both the bills are necessary and both should pass without delay or difficulty. I am an out-and-out protectionist. I hold that every country, especially a poor country like India, has every right and is indeed bound to protect its interest, when it is threatened, by all lawful protective measures and to regain by such measures what has been wrongfully taken away from it. I have my doubts about anything substantial being done under the existing system through legislative effort. But I take up the same position that I have always maintained regarding organized industries such as mills. I should welcome and support all action that would protect them against foreign aggression or free them from foreign competition especially when the latter is grossly unfair as it is in the case of foreign shipping and foreign piece-goods. I therefore wish Sjt. Sarabhai Haji every success in his very moderate effort. He might quite justly have gone further than he has.

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133. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[*August 2, 1928*][1]

MY DEAR MIRA,

You will keep your health and never deny yourself what may be needed for it; nor need you attend the kitchen if the noise there gets on your nerves. In every case, never go beyond your capacity. That too is a breach of truth. And of course you are not to worry over my being away from you.

No news from this side yet. Vallabhbhai is well. No summons yet for him to go to Poona.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

You will look after Dharm Kumar and Satyadevi.

From the original: C.W. 5328. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8218

[1] This letter appears to have been written soon after Gandhiji's arrival at Bardoli on August 2 and before Vallabhbhai Patel reached Poona on August 3 for negotiations regarding Bardoli.

134. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
Thursday [August 2][1] *1928*

BHAISHRI VALJI,

I had believed that what Parnerkar[2] had written regarding the demand of that cow-protection worker, the one with the books of accounts, was among my papers. But I do not find it among the papers here. Please inquire about it. I do not know if it is lying somewhere in my room. Please look for it and let me know.

Have you drafted the constitution of the Cow Service Society? Please keep it ready when I return there.

I trust you take good care of your health.

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 7395. Courtesy: V.G. Desai

135. LETTER TO SANTOK GANDHI

August 2, 1928

CHI. SANTOK,

It is true that I have made you suffer, but you may say that I have done so in the manner of a vaid[3]. Since I shrank from hurting Manjula, she has again fallen ill. Though I have caused you suffering, I take satisfaction in the thought that I have always wished the good of you all. I would expect hundred per cent satisfaction from you. I should like you both, mother and daughter, to return here with a happy heart. Write to me from time to time. You need not worry about Keshu and Radha.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8670. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chaudhari

[1] Gandhiji was in Bardoli on this date.
[2] Y. M. Parnerkar
[3] Physician practising Ayurvedic system of medicine

136. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

BARDOLI,
August 2, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

What shall I write to you? Go on working as devotedly as you have been doing. Take care of your health. I shall require a diary of the whole day's work from day to day. Shower love on Dahyabhai. I was extremely pained to see a touch of falsehood in him. I shall look forward to getting regular letters from you. Spread your fragrance in the school and the kitchen. See that Dahibehn does not feel hurt. About things here I can write nothing today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1755

137. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

August 2, 1928

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I had hoped to meet you, but you could not come. You should lighten your work. I hope you have made convenient arrangement for sleeping at night. Find some time every day and give me an account of the state of your mind. Don't work beyond your capacity and don't make others work beyond theirs. Consult Chi. Chhaganlal about everything you wish to do.

Preserve the utmost peace in the kitchen. Women should cultivate the ability to work without making noise.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro—6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 14

138. LETTER TO BANARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

August 2, 1928

BHAI BANARSIDAS,

I have your letter. The reply[1] sent to Bhai Oza is just the right one. There is no need to send a wire as I had sent one already.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

SJT. BANARSIDAS CHATURVEDI
VISHAL BHARAT KARYALAYA
91 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2563

139. DISCUSSION IN BARDOLI[2]

August 2, 1928

On the eve of starting for Bardoli Gandhiji said:

I am going to Bardoli in response to the command of the Sardar. Of course Vallabhbhai often consults me, but does not a commander consult even a private serving under him? I am going to Bardoli not to take Vallabhbhai's place but to serve under him.

On coming to Bardoli he maintained the same attitude and has emphasized it at several places so as to burn the lesson of discipline deep into the minds of all engaged in public work.

Peasants from various places came wading through water and mire to pay their respects to Gandhiji. "We have surrendered our head to the Sardar, not our honour (literally, nose)," said a group of them.

Gandhiji said:

Then you may be sure that your honour is safe but a great test is still to come. When you have stood the final heat, victory is yours. But tell me one thing. Supposing Vallabhbhai is taken away and others also with him, won't you be cowed down?

[1] *Vide* "Letter to U. K. Oza", 14-7-1928.

[2] From Mahadev Desai's "Bardoli Week by Week"

"No fear," said one of them with firmness, "Vallabhbhai has done ɪough to turn our iron into steel, and we know that the only thing we have , do is to be true to our word, even if the very heavens fall."

Gandhiji was delighted. Some friend suggested that he should visit some the villages. "Not unless Vallabhbhai wants me to do so" was the reply. was only at Vallabhbhai's desire that Gandhiji visited Sarbhon and Rayam ɪd met there hundreds of peasants from scores of villages in the vicinity.

Young India, 9-8-1928

40. *PREFACE TO "SELF-RESTRAINT* v. *SELF-INDULGENCE"*[1]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[2]
August 3, 1928

It is gratifying to note that the third edition of this volume required by the public. I wish that I had time to add one or ɪore chapters to the volume, but I cannot delay publication so that might add the chapters. I would have done so if I could be ɪre of finding the time needed for it.

From what, however, I have discovered from the letters that egularly come to me from inquirers, I would like to issue this efinite warning: Those who believe in self-restraint must not beome hypochondriacs. The letters that come to me show that nany correspondents brood over their ill-success in the exercise of elf-restraint. Like everything else that is good, self-restraint too equires an inexhaustible store of patience. There is absolutely io reason to despond, and there must be no brooding. There hould be no conscious effort to drive away evil thoughts. That rocess is itself a kind of indulgence.

The best prescription perhaps is non-resistance, i.e., ignoring he existence of evil thoughts and a continuous pre-occupation with luties that lie in front of one. This presupposes the existence of ome kind of all-absorbing service requiring the concentration of nind, soul and body upon it. "Idle hands some mischief still will ever find to do", is never so applicable as in this case. Evil houghts, much more, evil deeds, are impossible when we are thus pre-occupied. Strenuous labour in accordance with one's physical

[1] A draft (S.N. 14063) of this is available at the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad.

[2] Permanent address

capacity is, therefore, absolutely necessary for those who will obey the law of self-restraint which is indispensable for individual as well as universal progress.

M. K. GANDHI

Self-Restraint v. *Self-Indulgence*

141. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY[1]

August 3, 1928

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I see I omitted to reply to your question about the American Consul's letter. Of course, the whole thing is a fabrication. I do not know who Estelle Cooper is or Nazimova.

Vallabhbhai has called me to Bardoli whence I am writing this.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. BIDHAN ROY
36 WELLINGTON STREET, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: C.W. 2787

142. LETTER TO D. F. MCCLELLAND[2]

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 3, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and the enclosure[3]. You will excuse me for the delay in replying — I was so busy.

[1] In reply to his letter (S.N. 13651) dated July 26, "enclosing a copy of a communication from the American Consul". For the American Consul General's letter to Gandhiji and the latter's reply, *vide* "Letter to Robert Frazer", 10-8-1928.

[2] In reply to his letter (S.N. 13485) dated July 23, 1928, requesting Gandhiji to give his opinion on a question received by the addressee from Sydney L. Gullick, Secretary to the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, "asking for a judgement after careful investigation as to whether the sore point lies in the race discrimination feature or in the fact of exclusion. . . ."

[3] A printed appeal to the citizens of United States to amend the immigration laws so as to put an end to the Asiatic exclusion

Dr. Gullick's question is very relevant. My own opinion is that it is not the 'open door' that is wanted but really courteous treatment, not a mere declaration. And, if it is really courteous treatment that is really to be accorded, it is not difficult to find a legal formula wherewith an "Asiatic Invasion", as unrestricted immigration of the Asiatics is called, can be effectively checked while no Indian, whose competition need never be feared, would be excluded, or, admitted only after undergoing humiliating and discriminative treatment.

I need not now answer the question as to whether hundred Indians a year or more or less will answer the purpose. The number counts for nothing, the manner means everything.

Yours sincerely,

D. F. McClelland, Esq.
Young Men's Christian Association, Esplanade, Madras

From a microfilm: S.N. 13894

143. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI

Swaraj Ashram, Bardoli,
August 3, 1928

I had your long typed letter[1] which you left at your office when you went to Delhi, the other day. I have carefully read your letter and I like it for its frankness. I do not share the view you have about Motilalji. He may be mistaken but he is sincere and frank.

As for me I can only say that I am what I was in 1920 and 1921. I can only hope that when the occasion arises God will give me the strength to prove the claim I have so often made, namely, that I am friend and brother to every Mussalman.

From a photostat: S.N. 13895

[1] Referring to this in his letter (S.N. 13484) dated July 23, 1928 Shaukat Ali had written: "You will get the typed letter from my office but without my signature. That will give you a reply to your last letter. . . . "

144. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I have been too busy to attend to your letter of 2nd June. It is only because Vallabhbhai has called me to Bardoli that I have got a little breathing time to overtake arrears.

I do find a flaw *in your argument*. You will not decrease the consumption of foreign cloth through our mills unless they come under our control, if only for the simple reason that they will, as before, palm off foreign cloth upon you as swadeshi when they find it cheaper than their own cloth or when they run short of their own cloth. There is no shorter way than the straightest way. Has not Euclid taught us that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points? You know that I tried hard to come to terms with the mill-owners but it was of no use.

JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13910

145. LETTER TO CHIRANJIVALAL MISHRA[1]

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

I still write about British rule because it affects us in all departments of life. My condemnation of that rule does not make me blind to the virtues of the British people. If India is ever to gain swaraj, she will do so, not by copying other nations, but by finding out a way specially suited to her needs. India's

[1] In reply to his letter (S.N. 13850) dated June 26, 1928, criticizing Gandhiji's denunciation of British rule. Chiranjivalal had also written: "My humble idea is that the more a man is religious, the more he is disqualified as a soldier in the fight for freedom of the country. Religion is an unnecessary evil and a drag on the political side. . . "

progress towards swaraj would be more rapid if she was more religious.

Yours sincerely,

CHIRANJIVALAL MISHRA, *Vakil*
HIGH COURT, JAIPUR CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 13909

146. LETTER TO VISHVANATH SINGH

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

I have no hesitation in saying that, if you propose to remarry you should marry the girl-widow although she lived with her husband for some time. I agree with you that it is inadvisable for a widow who has children to remarry.

Yours sincerely,

VISHVANATH SINGH, ESQ.
12 HORI SARKAR LANE, BARABAZAR, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13908

147. LETTER TO ABDUL QUYUM[1]

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

I do not know any Nature-cure specialist in the Punjab. But you do not need any. Sun-bath in the early morning when the rays of the sun are bearable on the naked body and simple unstimulating diet is all you need. And if this treatment does not cure you nothing else is likely to.

Yours sincerely,

SHEIKH ABDUL QUYUM
BATALA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13906

[1] In reply to his letter (S.N. 13873) dated July 4, 1928, requesting Gandhiji to suggest a Nature-cure specialist to cure him of his tubercular glands.

148. LETTER TO BHUPENDRANATH GHOSH[1]

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter, enclosing suggestions for amending the Ashram Rules published in *Young India*. They will be carefully considered when revision is taken up.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13907

149. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRAN

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRAN,

I had your letter dated 8th ultimo. You must give me a regular fortnightly letter. It is only because Vallabhbhai has called me to Bardoli that I am able to overtake arrears.

Devdas is in Delhi. Surendra is now trying to become an expert tanner. The common kitchen has now 150 diners. Ba, Mahadev and Pyarelal are in Bardoli, apart from others.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13905

[1] In reply to his letter (S.N. 13879) dated July 9, 1928, suggesting that the Satyagraha Ashram should be self-contained and not maintained by contributions from friends

150. LETTER TO CHOWDHARY MUKHTAR SINGH

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August, 4 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1].

Whist there is an undercurrent of truth in your letter there is, I am afraid, much confusion of thought. If a people will not become industrious and self-supporting by following a useful occupation they will never be able to throw off [the] foreign yoke. Prosperity is totally different from ability to support oneself by dint of labour.

Yours sincerely,

CHOWDHARY MUKHTAR SINGH[2]

From a microfilm: S.N. 13904

151. LETTER TO D. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

If you have the strength of mind you will certainly wear khadi even if you incur the displeasure of your employers. Our duty is to so act as not to cause injury to others. Duty is a debt and discharge of a debt does not carry any reward with it unless of satisfaction with oneself.

We pray to feel strong and purified.

Yours sincerely,

D.C. RAJAGOPALACHARI[3]
L/78/3 CORAL MERCHANT STREET, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 13903

[1] Dated July 10, 1928, which read: "In a country governed by foreigners whose aim is not only power but economic exploitation also, is it not a waste of time to work for economic regeneration of the country? . . . " (S.N. 13880)

[2] Pleader, Meerut; Member, Legislative Assembly

[3] An employee of an English firm

152. LETTER TO GIRWARDHAR[1]

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your booklet[2]. I do not know whether I shall ever get the time to read it.

1. There are no courtyards specially reserved for women in these parts as in Bihar.

2. Though there is no special courtyard or room reserved, males do not have free access to the females.

3. Women at public meetings have special enclosures reserved for them, as a rule.

4. Many educated women do dislike manual labour.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13902

153. LETTER TO VISH NATH TIKOO

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

It is wrong to say that we cannot produce hand-spun cloth for all the people. The moment the people have the will, they can

[1] A *vakil* of Samastipur (Bihar) who in his letter (S.N. 13872) dated June 30, 1928, had asked Gandhiji the following questions: "(1) Has every Hindu house there a courtyard with rooms reserved for females as in our Province? (2) Has any friend and acquaintance of the males free access to the Zanana Compartment there? (3) In public meetings do the females sit together or promiscuously with males? (4) Have the educated females there a dislike for household manual labour like cooking, etc., or they continue to do the work themselves? (5) Do the females jointly sit with males in the outer apartments amongst their friends, acquaintances and clients, etc., or do they come out on rare occasions when necessity requires it?" It appears that Gandhiji did not answer the fifth question.

[2] In Hindi entitled *Gram Sudhar* for being reviewed in *Young India* and *Navajivan*

manufacture all the cloth they need and that far more economically than any that can be bought in the market.

Yours sincerely,

VISH NATH TIKOO
SHALA KADAL, SHRINAGAR, KASHMIR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13898

154. LETTER TO PYARELAL CHOPRA

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

You should not give up milk. You can use uncooked green vegetables if you take them in very small quantities, not more than 1 oz. per day to start with. You need not give up wheat. It is possible to take wheat uncooked after soaking it in water overnight in order to soften it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. PYARELAL CHOPRA
HEAD CLERK, IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA, DARBHANGA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13901

155. LETTER TO MATHURA PRASAD

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry not to have been able to reply to your letter earlier.

I am unable to guide you in the matter mentioned by you. It is likely that, if you try, you may get some help from the Government.

MATHURA PRASAD
BHABUA (BIHAR)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13900

156. A LETTER

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Only great pressure of business has prevented me from acknowledging the correspondence from Orissa. All my plans having been upset, I was obliged at the eleventh hour to put off sending Chhaganlal Gandhi to you. You may have him as my nominee on your board and carry on all correspondence with him. I do not know when I shall be able to send him to you. I having been called to Bardoli, the uncertainty has become still more uncertain. I can only say that I shall not delay sending him a minute more than I can help.

My suggestion to you is not to take any step about khadi without previous consultation with me through Chhaganlal Gandhi and to consult with him directly, if I am put away by the Government.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13911

157. LETTER TO T. K. MADHAVAN

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

MY DEAR MADHAVAN,

Your letter of 30th May last has lain with me all these months unanswered; but I have been helpless. It is only because I have been called to Bardoli that I have a little time to attend to arrears.

Please let me know what progress you have made. I have not yet been able to go through the judgment. Why don't you see Rajagopalachari yourself? He will help you in whatever way he can. I hear, however, that at the present moment he is far from well.

Yours sincerely,

T. K. MADHAVAN, ESQ.
ORGANIZING SECRETARY, S.N.D.P. YOGAM[1]

From a photostat: S.N. 14054

[1] Sri Narayana Guru Dharma Paripalana Yogam

158. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

August 4, 1928

MY DEAR BHRRR,[1]

It is not for me to like or dislike. When all are locked up, things will take their own course. But more when we meet. Please tell Raihana I began Gopi's diary and had to leave it to come to Bardoli.

Yours,
BHRRR

From a photostat: S.N. 9564

159. A LETTER

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry, I have been unable to reach your letter before now.

We have evidence enough of the majority of mankind that their ancestors do not show, to our knowledge, any dissatisfaction because the rites that the Hindus perform are not performed for them. The references in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* do not prove that at one time the rites referred to in them were performed by us. To me, it seems that real reverence to our ancestors and remembrance of them should consist in copying their virtues. Personally I perform no rites in connection with my father, nor do I keep the anniversary, for I endeavour to think of my parents and copy their virtues in my life from day to day.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13896

[1] This was a form of greeting between Gandhiji and the addressee.

160. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
Saturday [August 4, 1928][1]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I am alarmed by your letter. It seems you are seriously ill. Please ask the doctor to write to me and tell me what he thinks about the illness and what treatment he is giving. Is it necessary to send anyone from here?

I am at Bardoli just now. Write to me at this address.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN
KANYA GURUKULA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 489. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

161. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your letter. I shall certainly require a well-maintained diary. If you write every day, you will grow used to the practice. You certainly know how to keep a diary. Surely, it does not require any great ability to note down the work done, the thoughts which occurred and the experiences one had!

I have given in the letter to Chhaganlal (Joshi) what news I could about Bardoli.

I may say that at present I am practically enjoying rest.

How is Rajkishori?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1756

[1] From the postmark

162. SPEECH AT SARBHON

August 4, 1928

Gandhiji accompanied by some prominent local workers motored to Sarbhon yesterday where, besides the volunteers of Sarbhon and the *patels* and *talatis* who had resigned and the representatives from 25 villages comprising Sarbhon division had gathered together in the Swaraj Ashram to meet him. In explaining the object of his visit Gandhiji said that he had come there only to congratulate them and to learn more about their achievements. . . . Addressing the *talatis* Gandhiji said:

I hold that the *talatis* have shown greater spirit and valour in this fight than any other section. May I express the hope that you will maintain the same fine spirit when peace comes as you have shown in this fight? For I have noticed that *talatis* often tyrannize over the poor villagers and harass them. It is up to you to set them at their ease so that they might learn to regard you as friends and helpers, not as objects of terror. For the rest, the people have understood the secret of unity and combination, and once that lesson is learnt victory becomes an easy matter.

He next had a short talk with the representatives of the 25 villages of Sarbhon division numbering about sixty, in the course of which he said:

Although your leaders would be the last persons to stand in the way of an honourable settlement they are bound to reject any settlement that is abject or humiliating. We are all anxious for peace, but we want peace with honour, a peace that would be worthy of the satyagrahis and the cause which they represent. Some representatives of Bajipura the other day told Vallabhbhai that they had pledged their all to him but not their honour.[1] 'My advice to you is that you should surrender your honour to nobody in the world. As for Vallabhbhai, he would be the last person to wish you to do so. For he holds his own honour dear and the honour of others is as dear to him as his own. No one can deprive another of his honour if he is determined not to surrender it. A time may shortly come when Dr. Sumant[2], Abbas Tyabji and all the local workers and volunteers may be snatched away from you and clapped into jail. Then will come your real test.

[1] *Vide* "Discussion in Bardoli", 2-8-1928.

[2] Sumant Mehta

Let each one of you when that hour comes defend the citadel of his honour with his last breath, for that is the meaning of swaraj. The substitution of a brown for a white bureaucracy won't bring us swaraj. Swaraj will come to us only when we have developed the capacity to safeguard our honour. And if you make truth and non-violence your shield then I tell you that whatever be the end of this struggle you will come out of it with your honour unscathed. The Government may riddle you with bullets or turn you out of your homes. You must be prepared for both. Only remember what Vallabhbhai told you, that a soldier receives bullets on his chest, not on his back.

As for being deprived of your hearth and home what fear can you have so long as you have sound limbs with which to do labour. It is after all not Government that gives you your daily bread but He who watches over all creation. You have already achieved much and if you can stand the last heat unflinchingly the world will ring with fame of your deeds. But if you fail in the crucial test your fall will be as great as your present success. Even so in 1922 you came within an ace of success but you could not maintain that position and the result was that you sank back into the morass till Vallabhbhai by his penance and sacrifice again raised you to the old heights. He has done his part. It now remains for you to do yours.

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-8-1928

163. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
Saturday, August 4, 1928

CHI. MANI,

Swami[1] is not here, but I read your letter to him. Do not insist on coming here. It is the duty of a soldier to keep fit and obey the commander willingly. We can improve our health soon enough if we apply our mind to it.

Father, Mahadev and Swami have gone to Poona. They must have started from there today. A wire was expected from Poona, but it has not yet arrived. One cannot say yet whether or not there will be a settlement. I feel that the Government is not in a sufficiently strong position now to prolong the fight.

[1] Anandananda

Public opinion is against it and it has made many mistakes. I visited Sarbhon today. There has been no rain for some days. Most of the people here are leaving for Surat today.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro—4: Manibehn Patelne, pp. 67-8

164. MAGANKAKA

Under this heading, Prabhudas Gandhi has written a good, detailed and yet very brief biographical sketch[1] of the late Maganlal Gandhi. There is truth in it and also a command over the language. Because of the blending of truth and simplicity of expression the account in my opinion can also be said to be outstanding from the point of view of art. All of us have to learn much from the life of the late Maganlal Gandhi because he was a living example of the saying: "Practise as you preach." This account is given here since it cannot but benefit Gujaratis.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 5-8-1928

165. LACK OF COTTON OR EFFORT?

The Secretary, Children's Conference of Kasunda, situated in the Manbhoom region of Bihar, writes:[2]

The writer is a Gujarati and takes interest in the life of the children of Bihar and in khadi. I congratulate him on doing so. But I am grieved by what he says in his letter, that due to want of slivers and cotton, the plying of charkhas has had to be stopped. Those who have the means to procure charkhas can obtain cotton from anywhere and there should be no need to get slivers from elsewhere. I have often written in *Navajivan* that those who do not know how to card and make slivers cannot be said to know spinning. Only those can be said to know

[1] Not translated here

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that the spinning-wheel had ceased to operate in certain parts of Bihar for want of slivers.

how to make the flour *rotis* who know how to knead, make rolls and roast *rotis*. Similarly, only those who know how to card cotton, make slivers and spin can be called spinners. In fact, all the three processes constitute a single activity. Perhaps it would not be improper to call slivers the thickest of yarn. The process of carding is easy and beautiful. It does not take much time to learn it. Hence, my reply to the writer of the above letter is that slivers should be available in the village of Kasunda itself. It is not due to want of cotton or slivers that plying of charkhas has had to be stopped but rather due to want of effort, and in this fact I also see the absence of a genuine love for the charkha. I hope that wherever charkhas are plied as *yajna* spinners would immediately learn how to card cotton and make slivers.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 5-8-1928

166. SETTLEMENT OR WAR?

Reports of a settlement are coming in from all quarters, and, behind it, are also heard the echoes of a battle. At one time we hear that the Government is firm and is not prepared to change even one of the points in the talks held at Surat, while at other times we hear that the Government is eager to arrive at a settlement, that it is ready to yield as much as possible and would fight only if it cannot help it.

God alone knows which of these two versions is correct. A satyagrahi remains indifferent towards both, but at the same time should be prepared to face either. He should not let go a single opportunity for a settlement but should always be prepared for a battle. He should never adopt devious ways. He should not have the *chakravyuha*[1] of Abhimanyu, he should have only one golden, straightforward path, which even a child can see. He has nothing to hide, he can have recourse to no underhand dealings; what then has he to think about? It is immaterial for him whether on Monday he gets the news of a settlement or of Shri Vallabhbhai's arrest.

If satyagrahis have fully learnt their lesson under the leadership of Shri Vallabhbhai, they would not be scared at all at his

[1] An impregnable phalanx of the Kaurava army which Abhimanyu alone was able to destroy

rest or that of other leaders and, while allowing things to take eir own course, would remain steadfast in their determination.

Those who are trying to bring about a settlement have a right to ɔ so; it is the dharma of every citizen to take a hand in preventing ı unnecessary war. But if they get involved in efforts at a settle-ent out of misplaced pity for satyagrahis, they will harm the ıtion and prove that they do not understand the satyagrahis. he latter do not need pity, they do not hanker after it; what ey crave for is justice. Hence, it is possible that the efforts of ose who seek pity for satyagrahis by regarding them as weak, ay be in vain. If the demands of the satyagrahis are just, it is ıe dharma of the mediators to make a determined effort to see ıat justice is done to them. In order to do so, it is essential r the former to understand the demands and the struggle of the tyagrahis. A satyagrahi enters the struggle by regarding sorrows joys. Therefore no one has the right to enter into any negotia-ons on his behalf out of distress for his sufferings. It is my ɔnfirmed belief that those who intervene in such a manner pro-ng the struggle rather than shorten it.

A satyagrahi always desires to educate public opinion. There-re he wishes to make his facts fully known. In spite of this, ıose, who in their ignorance, build tabernacles of truce with nagined facts, would find that these will burn down with a single park of the match-stick of truth, just like tents made of paper. hose who wish to bring about a compromise need to have the ith that persons prepared for suffering will never be guilty of xaggeration; they have taken to the path of satyagraha only as last resort, after all the other avenues had been closed to them. he satyagrahis of Bardoli and Valod fall into this category. hey have resorted to satyagraha after all other methods had ıiled.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 5-8-1928

167. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
[*August 5, 1928*][1]

MY DEAR MIRA,

Your letters. I am using your name freely in order to stop the noise in the kitchen. It does not matter if you incur a little displeasure of some sisters for the time being. You should discuss this question freely with them.

Chhotelalji says you have a violent dislike for the monthly course regulation of which he says you knew nothing. Is this so? I thought we discussed it[2] and you agreed that it was necessary to placate those who had scruples. You may discuss this with Chhotelalji and let me know what you have understood.

It is almost certain that a compromise will be announced *tomorrow or on Tuesday.* But I shall be detained for some days longer for the new order of things to settle down.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5304. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8194

168. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

BARDOLI,
Sunday, August 5, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have no news today. I intend to send a wire tomorrow to inquire. If you need anyone to help you, you should not at all hesitate to write and tell me so. Your health should not get worse. I did not follow your remark about being confined to bed for a month. I personally do not understand the suggestion about gram soup.

Most probably there will be a settlement of the Bardoli problem.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 490. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

[1] From the reference to the announcement of the compromise regarding Bardoli

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 342-3 and 400-1.

169. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

BARDOLI,
Sunday, August 5, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your letter. It is strange that you should have a headache. Take care.

If you have any explanation why . . . bhai[1] does not admit his error, think over it and let me know. Is it possible that you misunderstood at any time what you were told? Personally, I have again written to say that . . . bhai[2] should be relieved.

Write and let me know what arrangements have been made for the Bal Mandir[3].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1757

170. SPEECH ON DISCIPLINE, RAYAM[4]

August 5, 1928

I cannot speak as the order of the Sardar is clear. If he had been here and asked me to speak I should have done so. But today I cannot do anything more than congratulate you on your bravery and on your unity. I was glad to see the spinning demonstration, but I cannot even speak about the charkha. It should be a principle with us implicitly to obey the commands or instructions of one whom we have chosen to be our Sardar. I admit I am Vallabhbhai's elder brother, but in public life no matter whether one is father or elder brother of the man under whom one serves, one must obey his instructions. It is not a new law. It used to be a law even in ancient times. It was that spirit of discipline which made such a mighty personality as Lord Krishna humbly serve as Arjuna's charioteer and serve as the meanest of the menials on the occasion of King Yudhishthira's

[1] & [2] The names are omitted in the source.
[3] Infant school
[4] From Mahadev Desai's "Bardoli Week by Week"

Rajasuya Sacrifice. I cannot therefore do anything more than congratulate you. It was Vallabhbhai who made you famous throughout India. But it was Government who made you famous throughout the world. May you achieve even greater things in future.

Young India, 9-8-1928

171. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

BARDOLI,
August 6, 1928

JAMNALALJI
CARE "PRATAP", CAWNPORE

PRACTICALLY FINISHED. SATISFACTORY. AM STAYING HERE.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 69

172. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 6, 1928

MY DEAR MIRA,

Your letter. Of course I am not going to force you to do anything. But evidently my memory has gone to the dogs. I seem to have the clearest possible recollection that I talked to you and you to have said that for their sakes one had to do as they desired.[1] But either I simply fancy I spoke to you when I did not or something terribly wrong has happened. Whatever the case, you must set yourself at ease. You shall be suited completely.

The settlement is practically finished but I shall have to be some days here to watch.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Hope Kusum is all right now.

From the original: C.W. 5305. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G. N. 8195

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Mirabehn", 5-8-1928.

173. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

BARDOLI,
Silence Day, August 6, 1928

SISTERS,

It seems a settlement has been practically reached. So I hope to return early. Vallabhbhai wants to keep me here for a few days. Tomorrow we expect more authentic information about the settlement.

I have been thinking about the kitchen. I have been considering how you can be made to take full interest and work wholeheartedly in it. I feel that for this purpose you must shoulder the entire burden of the kitchen. You should get what help you need. But you can take up the responsibility only when you feel within you enough strength to do so. The noise in the store-room and the kitchen must definitely cease. If Mirabehn were there, she would find it difficult to work with so much noise; even Chhotelalji would be disturbed. Those who sing the *Gita* verses about being steadfast in wisdom must cultivate the habit of working quietly. While making chapatis or cleaning the rice, why can we not get fully absorbed in our work and do it silently? But when you say that time will not pass unless you are talking, I become helpless. Even then I should say that you need not make quite so much noise. Why can we not, while working, reflect on the significance of some verse we may have learnt that day? Think of all this, and do only what you think best.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3681

174. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKER PATTANI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 6, 1928

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I got your letter. Need I thank you?

No one need worry about me at all. God will keep me all right for His own purpose so long as He wants me to work, and when He gets displeased even a thousand physicians will not be able to help me. But now a settlement seems certain.

Nevertheless, Vallabhbhai desires that I should stay here for a few days more.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Don't worry about coming to the Ashram. If you can find the time to come, you will undoubtedly be welcome.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 3224. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani

175. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Monday [August 6, 1928][1]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got three postcards together today. They report fairly satisfactory progress. I had already sent a wire earlier. I know that there you should follow the doctor's instructions. May God restore you to health very soon.

A settlement about Bardoli is almost certain. But I shall have to stay on for a few days longer.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN
KANYA GURUKULA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 491. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

[1] From the postmark

176. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

BARDOLI,
August 6, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

Mirabehn writes and tells me that you have still not recovered. There is no letter today from you and that confirms what she says. I hope you are not brooding over things?

A settlement is almost certain. I shall, therefore, return in a few days. Nevertheless, I shall have to stay here a little longer than I had expected. Vallabhbhai desires that I should.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1758

177. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

August 6, 1928

CHI. RAIHANA,

Your first Gujarati letter was very good indeed. If you write thus often and improve your handwriting, your Gujarati will become really very good. Since there is a settlement now, what work can I give you here?

Vandemataram to everyone.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9608

178. LETTER TO BECHAR PARMAR

August 6, 1928

BHAISHRI BECHAR,

I got your transparently sincere letter. Even though you may be a teacher, why should you not draw waters for others? Or work as a barber? You should not mind if the Government dismisses you or people criticize you for that. I want you to

remain a teacher simply in order that, though working as one, you should do physical work and give up false shame. There is nothing wrong if, remaining detached, you shoulder the burden of family responsibilities. Never think of running away.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 24749

179. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 6, 1928

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

Please excuse the delay in replying.

If one working in a subordinate position really possesses higher merit than his senior, the latter will recognize his talent. But then there is one condition; the subordinate must have perfect humility and patience.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 762

180. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
Silence Day [August 6, 1928]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I get your nice letters regularly. Your handwriting and expression are both good. Do not fall ill by struggling to reach the kitchen at five. It will do if you go at half past five. I shall now return in a few days. How is Vidyavati's[1] health? How is the Bal Mandir Hindi class getting on? Maintain a regular daily diary.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3331

[1] Addressee's sister

181. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 7, 1928

MY DEAR MIRA,

I did not wire as the papers announce the settlement. I won't worry about the monthly untouchability till my return. I know the defect to which you have drawn my attention. If the chief men are strong the Ashram will settle down to its peace.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5306. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G. N. 8196

182. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

BARDOLI,
Tuesday, August 7, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your letter. I find it difficult to understand you. I know that you would not use the language of humility when writing to me. I do not believe that you cannot keep a diary.[1] Your saying that your letter became too long and that you do not know how to make a letter brief is also false humility. All your letters are good. I personally would not be able to shorten them, and I know fairly well the difference between a long and a short letter. If, therefore, you really have a high opinion of yourself, get rid of it and stop self-depreciation if you are making a show of it as a mere formality.

The matter about . . . bhai[2] seems to have been settled now. It seems that he has admitted his error. His admission has not been conveyed personally to me, but it seems he has admitted his error before Surendra and Chhotelal. Your part in the affair was indeed very good.

The programme for the Bal Mandir seems all right. If you can adhere to it, the project is bound to prosper.

Take care of your health.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Kusum Desai", 4-8-1928.

[2] The name is omitted in the source.

I expect to reach there by the end of this week or in the beginning of the next. When do you get up these days?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1759

183. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

August 7, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letter, as also Vidyavatiji's wire. Please tell her. If, after you have recovered, Ramdevji takes you to Hardwar, there is no harm in going with him and consulting a vaid. It may perhaps do good.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 492. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

184. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 7, 1928

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I got your letter.

Though a settlement has been reached, I shall remain here a few days longer.

It is good that you attend the prayers regularly. You may work as much as you wish, but you should take rest at intervals and keep yourself calm. Do not work any time in a restless state of mind. Cultivate Mirabehn's company a great deal and ask her to pull you up. She should do it every time she hears you shouting. It will not be many days before you get used to working on silently and with a cheerful mind, and you will also get less tired then.

Make Krishnamaiyyadevi work regularly. You will be able to win her over through love.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro — 6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 14

185. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[1]
August 8, 1928

CHI. MIRA[2],

Subbiah arrived here last night. I am therefore going to dictate instead of writing to you.

If the event occurs before I reach there, you should be served in your room. Will that suit? And, if you do not want it even to be guessed by anybody, you may be served even as from now.

There is no question of segregation at any other time or at the prayer meeting. The question has reference only to the kitchen and the dining-room.

I thoroughly appreciate the spirit with which you are conducting this enquiry. Of course I have much to say upon the matter. But I don't want to deal with it through correspondence.

I hope to be there on Sunday or some time early next week.

I have not misunderstood the remark you made about the inmates of the Ashram.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5307. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8197

186. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
Wednesday, August 8, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

Your reply to Sharada was not only well pointed but it also contained a deep meaning.

My reply is that I do not know—the daughters themselves should know—who is nearest to my heart. I write to any one of them to whom I think I have to and also try to write to those who want me to write to them. Show this to Sharada and let me know if she wants me to write to her.

[1] Permanent address

[2] The superscription in this and other letters to Mirabehn is in Devanagari script.

If thefts take place in the women's wing, you should be able to discover the thief. You should have mentioned in your letter the things which had been stolen.

Send me a list of the things stolen and of the owners. Also let me know whom you suspect.

I may arrive there on Sunday. If I do not I shall be there early next week at the latest.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1760

187. ALL'S WELL

It is a matter for sincere joy that the settlement has at last been reached[1] over the Bardoli Satyagraha. All's well that ends well. I tender my congratulations both to the Government of Bombay and the people of Bardoli and Valod and Sjt. Vallabhbhai without whose firmness as well as gentleness the settlement would have been impossible. The reader will note that the satyagrahis have achieved practically all that they had asked for. The terms of reference to the Committee of Enquiry are all that could be desired. True, there is to be no inquiry into the allegations about the coercive measures adopted by the Government to enforce payment. But it was generous on the part of Sjt. Vallabhbhai to waive the condition, seeing that the lands forfeited including lands sold are to be restored, the *talatis* are to be reinstated and other minor matters are to be attended to. It is well not to rake up old wrongs for which, beyond the reparation made, there can be no other remedy. The inquiry into the assessment question will be carried in a calmer atmosphere for the waiver of the clause about the coercive processes.

Let not the satyagrahis sleep over their well deserved victory. They have to collect and collate material to prove their allegations about the assessment.

And above all, if they are to consolidate their position, they must proceed with constructive work with redoubled vigour. Their strength lies in their ability and willingness to handle this difficult, slow and unpretentious work of construction. They have to rid themselves of many social abuses. They must better their

[1] On August 6, 1928 at Poona; for the terms of settlement, *vide* Appendix III.

economic condition by attention to the charkha. It was the charkha that led to the awakening among them. They must remove the reproach of drink from their midst. They must attend to village sanitation and have a properly managed school in every village. The so-called higher classes must befriend the depressed and the suppressed classes. The greater the attention given to these matters, the greater will be their ability to face crises like the one they had just gone through.

The noble band of volunteers who had the privilege of serving under Vallabhbhai deserve the highest praise for their devotion and splendid discipline. The task is not yet finished. Those who can spare the time must help the Sardar in his constructive work.

Young India, 9-8-1928

188. NOTES

Late Justice Ameer Ali

I tender my respectful condolences to the relatives of the late Justice Ameer Ali who was not the least among the friends and helpers of the cause of the Indian settlers in South Africa in the protracted satyagraha struggle of 1906-14.

South African Condonation

Just at the time of going to Press I have before me a copy of *Indian Opinion* containing the supplement giving full particulars regarding the condonation scheme[1]. I have time just now only to give below the form of application[2] to be made so as to reach the Department of Interior (Immigration and Asiatic Affairs) before 1st October next.

Let those who wish to return to South Africa send their applications betimes. I hope to publish other papers and information next week.

Maganlal Memorial

The reader will be glad to know that Sjt. Mulji Sikka has donated the sum of Rs. 10,000 to the Maganlal Memorial. The love of this family for khadi is well known and has been often enough exhibited in a variety of ways.

[1] & [2] *Vide* Appendix II.

A CORRECTION

In *Young India* of 19th July last appears an acknowledgment of Rs. 2,000, sent through Lala Lajpat Rai to the Bardoli Fund. In this the sum of Rs. 500 has been acknowledged as from "other contributors". The amount, however, was a personal contribution from Lalaji himself. I am sorry for the blunder, but when numerous entries have to be made daily and when they pass from hand to hand such omissions often become inevitable in spite of all efforts to avoid errors.

Young India, 9-8-1928

189. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

August 9, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your long letter today. You don't seem to have become completely free from your illness. If you want anyone to be sent from here, let me know. It appears that I shall be able to leave Bardoli on Sunday.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

If you find your hair to be a source of trouble to you, have no hesitation in having it cut off.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 493. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

190. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[1]
August 10, 1928

CHI. MIRA,

I hope to move from Bardoli at the end of the week. I have your letter. For the time being, it is best to have your food served in your room and not to have anything to do with the kitchen. I have much to say about the argument you have advanced. But as I hope to reach the Ashram on Monday morn-

[1] Permanent address

do not wish to argue the position through correspondence. .ot perturbed over the position you feel you have to take up. e had a death of a very brave young girl at the Swaraj ı who was quite all right yesterday and came in order to er father who is at the Sabarmati Jail and whose discharge ıminent. She developed violent pain in the abdominal Doctors could not diagnose. She died peacefully early morning.[1] And so, though I am mechanically doing programme, I am holding silent converse with the God th and making the meaning of death more clear for my-

ore when we meet.
›ve.

BAPU

n the original: C.W. 5308. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8198

191. LETTER TO ROBERT FRAZER

BARDOLI,
August 10, 1928

have your letter[2]. Dr. Bidhan Roy wrote to me about its :-matter and I trust you have had a reply.

ıe whole story is a fabrication from start to finish. I know g of the parties mentioned therein.

Yours sincerely,

m a photostat: S.N. 13487

[1] Varrating the incident, Mahadev Desai wrote: "She had come all the way ankaner on foot . . . At three o'clock in the morning she said: 'Pray hatmaji to my bedside. I want to have his last *darshan.*' Gandhiji soon She had lost her eyesight, but as soon as Gandhiji accosted : said: 'I cannot see you, but I recognize your voice. Will someone my hands? I want to do my last obeisance to Gandhiji.' Next she asked 'labhbhai, and before daybreak she passed away" (*The Story of* pp. 140-1).

[2] Dated August 2, which read: "I beg to inform you that a telegram :ly addressed to the President of the United States of America by Cooper Gandhi, reading as follows: 'Mahatma Gandhi has informed nform you Nazimova has left him no alternative but to declare boycott merican goods and call general strike on all American plantations which darker-skinned people. Boycott lifted only when Nazimova deported and ne Mayo presented for criminal libel here.' I would be greatly obliged vould inform me who Estelle Cooper Gandhi is and whether the above

192. LETTER TO CHARLES FREDERICK WELLER[1]

August 10, 1928

I do like your emphasis upon appreciation rather than toleration. Whether you are now ready to launch out in Chicago, etc., is more than I can tell. It must be a matter of your own feeling and experience. I can only say generally, in all such matters, try after depths rather than extent of service.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 14333

193. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Friday [August 10, 1928][2]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your long letter giving all the details. It is very well written. I know now all that I wanted to know. I wish to make no suggestion. The doctor is a good man; why should I interfere with his treatment? Personally, though, I would not approve of gram soup, and that too spiced.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 494. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

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telegram was sent with your knowledge and approval. I would also be pleased to receive any comment that you may care to make in regard to this matter." *Vide* also "Letter to Dr. B. C. Roy", 3-8-1928.

[1] Executive President, League of Neighbours; associated with Fellowship of Faiths and Union of East and West. In his letter dated June 21, 1928, Weller wrote: "One of my long-time ambitions is to visit India . . . to organize meetings in which Hindus will pay tributes of appreciation to the Mohammedan faith, Mohammedans to Hinduism and Christians to both. . . ,"

[2] From the postmark

194. LETTER TO OLIVE DOKE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[1]
August 11, 1928

MY DEAR OLIVE[2],

I was thankful to receive your letter giving me detailed news about yourself and your brave and wonderful work. I was thankful too to hear about Clement[3] and Comber[4].

You want to know something about my boys. Harilal, the eldest, has become a rebel. He even drinks and makes himself merry and is honestly of opinion that I have gone astray in all I am doing. Manilal is in Phœnix keeping up *Indian Opinion*. He was married two years ago and took his wife with him. They are both happy. Ramdas and Devdas are with me helping me in my work. Ramdas was married a year ago. Devdas is still unmarried. I am conducting here a fairly big institution. The enclosed will give you its constitution and its composition.

When you write to the different members of the family please send my love to them all and accept it for yourself.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MISS O. C. DOKE
KAFULAFUTA, P.O. NAOLA, N. W. RHODESIA (SOUTH AFRICA)

From a photostat: C.W. 9226. Courtesy: C. M. Doke

195. SPEECH AT VALOD[5]

[August 11, 1928][6]

Even amongst the satyagrahis there were not wanting people who were dissatisfied with the result and addressed notes to Gandhiji and to the Sardar to say that they would have preferred a fight to the finish to a half-hearted compromise.

In reply to these impatient men of Valod Gandhiji said:

1 Permanent address
2 Daughter of Rev. J. J. Doke
3 & 4 Brothers of the addressee
5 From Mahadev Desai's "Bardoli Week by Week"
6 From the Bombay Secret Abstracts, p. 552, paragraph 1353(3)

You will recognize that I am the *acharya*[1] of the science of satyagraha, and as such I tell you that no victory could have been cleaner, straighter and more decisive. What if your Sardar was not taken into confidence by Government? Every one of your conditions has been fulfilled and you want nothing more. You need not care as to how and through whose instrumentality the settlement was brought about. A satyagrahi is satisfied with the substance, he does not fight for the shadow. And why do you talk of a fight to the finish? Because you did not get an opportunity of proving your mettle against the worst odds, against power and shot? Well, it does not behove a satyagrahi to wish that his opponent should stoop to brutishness in order that his own bravery may be proclaimed to the world. A satyagrahi always prays that his opponent's heart may be converted by the grace of God and not that it may be rendered more stony. And why are you impatient? The bigger battle is still before us—the battle for freedom of which the campaign was planned in 1921 and which has yet to be fought.

Young India, 16-8-1928

196. 'RAMA, THE STRENGTH OF THE WEAK'

It is an exaggeration to say that the satyagrahis have triumphed, for there is nothing like defeat for a satyagrahi. He gives up only when he is dead. Nevertheless, from a practical point of view it could be claimed that the satyagrahis of Bardoli have won. Everyone will praise those who fight unto death; however, no one will claim that they have, therefore, been victorious. The satyagrahis of Bardoli can be said to have been victorious, since their demands have been conceded.

From the practical point of view, the credit for this victory may be due to anyone. From the standpoint of the satyagrahis and from that of Vallabhbhai, it is due to God alone. Vallabhbhai has indeed tendered it. A satyagrahi offers up his all to God when he enters the battle-field. No credit or discredit, therefore, can be attributed to him. He appears to be weak in the eyes of the world. He has no physical strength inasmuch as he has no weapons. What comparison can there be between the strength of the people of Bardoli and the might of the British Empire? Whereas

[1] Preceptor

the people of Bardoli are like ants, the latter is like an elephant; but it is when the satyagrahi becomes like an ant that God saves him, as He saves the ant which is about to be crushed under the elephant's foot. This is what has happened in Bardoli.

Let us proceed after thus expressing our thankfulness to God.

No settlement could have been brought about had His Excellency the Governor not chosen to do so. Having disregarded his own strongly-worded speech, he adopted a conciliatory policy and conceded the demands of the satyagrahis. He deserves to be complimented for this.

However, the settlement would have been impossible had Vallabhbhai Patel not acted in such a large-hearted manner. The game was in his hands. He waived his right to insist upon an inquiry into the high-handed policy that had been adopted at the time of the collection of land revenue. He could have taken up a legalistic attitude on other minor matters, but he refrained from doing so. However, his greatest sacrifice was the one which involved his ignoring his own position. He completely left himself out of consideration. To this very day, Vallabhbhai has not been officially informed of the settlement that has been arrived at. He has learnt about it only through letters from friends and from the reports in newspapers. However, he is concerned with the essence of the thing and not with how it is done, hence he can be indifferent about prestige. A satyagrahi does not require any personal recognition or, if in certain cases he seems to lay stress on such recognition, it is for the sake of the people's honour. Hence, just as there could have been no struggle without Shri Vallabhbhai Patel, similarly, no solution would have been possible without his consent.

In the third place, the credit certainly goes to the men and women of Bardoli. Without their courage and their fortitude, the struggle would not have gathered momentum and would not have had a happy end.

It is not the case that others do not deserve to be complimented. It is not the purpose of this article to compliment those who deserve to be complimented. Compliments have been offered to all from various quarters. If the principal actors have been mentioned, that has a bearing on my purpose in this article.

That purpose is to consider the future. Victory would be futile if in order to celebrate it we eat sweets and then rest comfortably, and the people would revert to their previous habits. And while considering the future, we must bear in mind the Governor, Vallabhbhai Patel and the people of Bardoli.

The satyagrahis have always claimed that there was no jus fication for an increase in land revenue, and that the soil of Ba doli could hardly bear even the burden of the old revenue. V asked for a committee to examine this matter and this demar has been conceded after much suffering on our part. The peop have now to collect evidence and prove that they cannot bear t burden of any additional revenue, that, on the contrary, it shou be reduced. It is also for the people to prove that the reports c which the Government had relied did not deserve to be relie upon.

However, in addition to this, the constructive work whic should follow in the wake of the people's awakening is of th greatest importance. Taking advantage of the wonderful awa kening that has taken place among the women, the superstitio and harmful customs that are prevalent among them could b eradicated. The spirit of unity that has been generated among th men should be utilized for uniting them further and for riddin them of the harmful practices prevailing among them. People behaviour towards the Raniparaj, the Dublas and the *Antyaj* should undergo a change. Attempts should be made to mak permanent the boycott of liquor which has come about as part c this struggle. It is necessary to make a determined effort to brin about a total boycott of foreign cloth. In this cotton-growing area spinning-wheels are not yet being operated in every home; th state of affairs should change. The awakening among the peopl can be made permanent and the people self-supporting only these and similar other activities are undertaken.

Boycott has played an important part in this struggle. Whil peaceful, non-violent boycott has an undoubted place in satya graha, violent, malicious boycott has no place in it. Hence it wi be necessary to withdraw boycott wherever it had been employ ed. Pure boycott does not spread hatred but, on the contrary increases love. Those who displayed weakness should not b reproached for their weakness. There should be no anger agains those officers who misbehaved, nor should they be flattered. People while preserving their independence, should behave courteousl towards the officials. The *talatis* have demonstrated their cou rage. They will now resume their offices but the people will hop that, though carrying out their duties faithfully, they will be res pectful and loyal to them too.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 12-8-1928

197. MY NOTES

Sacrifice by Girls

Smt. Vidyavati Devi of Kanya Gurukula, Dehradun, sends the following letter[1]:

The draft sent is for more than Rs. 300, of which Rs. 200 represent the sacrifice of the girl students. I thank these young girls. May God preserve their spirit of service.

Large Donation to the Vidyapith

Shri Nagindas Amulakhrai has always taken interest in national education. He has even donated money to it frequently. He has now contributed one lakh of rupees. He had gifted this large amount in order that it should be utilized, at my discretion, for increase of knowledge. With his consent I have entrusted it to the Vidyapith and nominated five representatives to look after its administration. I compliment Shri Nagindas for this donation. It is my belief that, having regard to the task we wish to accomplish through the Vidyapith, people cannot contribute enough to its funds. We may not be able to see today tangible results of the existence of the Vidyapith. However, a time will certainly come when everyone will take note of the contribution made by the Vidyapith in the cause of national growth for its aim is worthy and selfless workers are engaged in promoting it.

Big Contribution to the Maganlal Gandhi Memorial

Shri Mulji Sikka, who has a large business in Nipani and Gondia, has contributed a sum of Rs. 10,000 towards this memorial through Shri Manilal Kothari. I compliment him for doing so. This gentleman has often given proof of his love for khadi. Contributions for this memorial are gradually coming in. Naturally, Bardoli attracted the people's attention and their contributions. I did not, therefore, write about this memorial. Now that the first half of the Bardoli chapter is over and Shri Mulji Sikka's generosity has provided me an opportunity, I draw the attention of all who love khadi and appreciate the value of Shri Mulji's services to this memorial.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 12-8-1928

[1] Not translated here. The letter stated that the girls of the Gurukula had saved the money by going without sweets and fruits for a month.

198. OUR CONSERVATISM

A young man writes to say:

> There are about a thousand Jains in our town. Amongst these, there are about 150 widows and 250 bachelors. Forty of the latter are between forty and sixty years of age. They cannot marry unless they can spend thousands of rupees. Something between five and twenty thousand rupees has to be spent in order to get a bride. This leads to an increase in immorality. The Jain sadhus take no steps in this matter. If questioned on this subject, they reply by saying that this is a worldly problem and that, by trying to solve it, they would be violating the orders of Mahavira. Could you not write something on this subject?

Another reader writes to say:

> A friend of mine is about forty-two years old. Although he is married he has no children. He, therefore, wishes to remarry and ruin the life of a twelve or thirteen-year-old girl. How can he be made to overcome his infatuation?

I deal with these letters together as our conservatism lies at the root of both problems. Some persons believe that things are all right as they are, that it is not necessary for us to think about their propriety or otherwise and that it is sinful to raise doubts about customs that have come down through generations. When to this line of argument is added lust, evil customs become good ones! Our young men require a great deal of strength and moral purity if we are to free ourselves from such a pitiable condition. They can cultivate public opinion through their *tapascharya* and satyagraha and put to shame those who are blinded by lust. A small community like that of Jains need not remain small. Jain youths should insist on marrying girls outside their community. The Jains mostly belong to the Vania caste or are Vaishyas. They need not even go outside the Vaishya class. There are crores of Vaishyas in India, and a deserving man should not find it difficult to get a bride from amongst these. Such a person should vow not to give or receive a single pie by way of dowry. Moreover, Jain young men should be ready to marry those among the 150 widows who were widowed in childhood. So long as they can marry such widows, they should not even look for unmarried girls.

I believe that at present it is futile to hope for much from Jain and other sadhus and religious teachers. The question of

livelihood is a big problem for them too, or rather they have made it one. Hence they do not go against public opinion and readily advocate reforms. Some who are exceptions to this rule attempt to introduce reforms, but people are not ready to listen to them. These latter sadhus do not possess the necessary strength of character to have an impact on the people. Others will automatically be saved if the sadhus as a class are reformed, but impostors have entered their fold and many sadhus spread irreligion or superstitions under the guise of religion.

It is a difficult task to reason with that other man of forty-two years who, though he has a wife living, wishes to marry again. Who can convince him that begetting children is not a part of dharma, whereas it is man's dharma to be satisfied with one wife. One should learn to regard as one's sons all boys who are old enough to be so. In a poverty-stricken country like India, innumerable children are without parents and grow up somehow. Under such circumstances, if every person who has no son, brings up and rears one such child as his own, he would be doing a meritorious deed and reap the benefit of having a son without indulging in the sexual act. Adoption is a common and widely acknowledged practice among Hindus.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 12-8-1928

199. UTILITY OF MACHINES

The late Shri Maganlal wrote to me many letters which were of value for the public, but, in accordance with my habit, I used to tear them up. Moreover, I had never expected that he would die before me. About fifteen days before his death, he wrote to me a letter which I still have with me, and I give below a part of it which is of public interest:[1]

Both these criticisms deserve consideration. People should not rush to any kind of exhibition. They can reap some benefit from exhibitions only if they have some knowledge about the articles exhibited and if they exercise discrimination regarding their

[1] The letter is not translated here. Maganlal had doubted the utility of machines and implements exhibited at agricultural exhibitions and criticized the Government's discriminatory customs policy which encouraged the imports of steam or oil-driven machines at the cost of machines which could be worked by hand or with the help of bullocks.

value. Who can calculate the loss we have suffered as a result of our giving up some of our age-old household implements without sufficient knowledge about them? Just as it is absurd to say that all that is old is good, similarly, it is equally absurd to conclude that, just because a thing is old, it is useless. No one is opposed to machinery. Our opposition is to its misuse, or its excessive use. I did not know at all that there is a fifteen per cent duty on machines which are operated by living beings and a five per cent duty on those operated by mechanical power; perhaps, many of the readers too may be ignorant of this fact. However, I am not surprised to know about this discrimination for it was only when I saw such discrimination being practised by the Government in every sphere of its activity that the idea of non-co-operation occurred to me.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 12-8-1928

200. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

BARDOLI,
August 12, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have your letters. I shall write no more about the dryness of your letters.

This is the reply to Sushila's question about Sudama. We know nothing about whether or not he was a historical character.

I do not remember what the *Bhagavata* says about Sudama. We have what Narasinh Mehta and Premanand have written about him. The stories told by both of them are imaginary. The pictures drawn by the two poets are their own inventions. We cannot, therefore, take every word in the narrative seriously and pronounce judgement on any aspect of the story. To me both the husband and the wife seem beautifully drawn characters. The poems were composed to illustrate the power of *bhakti*[1]. In composing them, the poets have shown the wife as a worthy lady who tries to safeguard the interests of her family and worries about it. Sudama, who is under the spell of *bhakti*, lets his affairs manage themselves. The wife wants to protect her children and so she tries to wake up the detached Sudama. He hesitates, because a

[1] Devotion to God

devotee of God makes no selfish prayer. But his wish, though seemingly selfish, is in fact unselfish. Prompted by his wife, he went to Krishna without any expectation and came away as he had gone. We should, therefore, read the poem to enjoy the sentiment of *bhakti*. We cannot draw any conclusions from it about what the relation between a husband and a wife should be. We may use our reason to decide that question, and act in the manner that seems best to us. An attempt to judge old examples in the light of modern reason is not only futile and unnecessary but may be actually harmful sometimes. We should base our conduct in this age on independent moral principles.

I like Manilal's independence in what he thinks about Sastriji[1], but I see an error in his view. There should be a different standard for judging every individual. If we judge a horse by the standard applicable to an elephant, we would be doing injustice to both. Both may be good or bad in their respective spheres. An elephant or a horse may be treated to have failed in the test if it fails when judged by the standard applicable to itself. If we judge Sastriji by the standard of satyagraha, we would do him injustice. If we look to the service which he renders to the nation, though in Government service, we shall see that he has no equal. If, then, he were to plunge into the field of satyagraha, he would probably have no equal there too. It is my belief that no one else would give as much satisfaction, through his uprightness, as Sastriji does. In my view, he sincerely follows his conscience in everything he does.

I learn from him that Sushila now speaks fairly good English. I would expect such information about you from yourselves.

Now that a settlement about Bardoli has been reached, I am returning to the Ashram. Ba and Mahadev are with me. Subbiah joined later. Pyarelal, Ramdas and Rasik have been here from the beginning. It is to be decided now what they are to do. Devdas is in Delhi working in Jamia Millia. Prabhudas is at Almora. rule has now been made to have one common kitchen only in the Ashram, and, therefore, very few are left now who have their meals by themselves. They, too, will have stopped doing that before the next year. At present, about 140 persons take their meals in the common kitchen.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4742

[1] V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

201. *SPEECH TO VOLUNTEERS, BARDOLI*[1]

[*August 12, 1928*][2]

We have begun today's proceedings with prayers to God. We have been already warned that one should never feel proud of one's triumphs. But that is not enough. Even to say that the people of Bardoli won honour by their courage is not sufficient. It is true that we have won the victory because of the indefatigable efforts of Sardar Patel, but to say that is also not enough, because we would have never won if he did not have loyal, hardworking and sincere co-workers.

It is a rule of satyagraha that we should not consider anyone our enemy. But there are people who would treat us as their enemy even though we do not regard them as our enemy. We should not wish to destroy such people but should seek to bring about a change of heart in them.

Many a time the Sardar has told you and the Government that as long as there is no change of heart in the Government officers, a settlement is impossible. Now that a settlement has been arrived at, there must have been a change of heart at some level. A satyagrahi should never pride himself on having achieved anything by his strength. A satyagrahi is a cipher, and his strength is the strength of God. He should have on his lips only the words "Rama, strength of the weak". God will help him only when he gives up the pride of his strength. If there is any change of heart, we must thank God for that. But even that is not enough.

We must believe that a change of heart took place in the Governor. Had it not occurred, what would have happened? We are not worried about anything that might happen. We had taken a pledge that we would not be intimidated even if guns were brought out against us. If we celebrate our victory and rejoice today, it is pardonable. But, at the same time, I want to tell you that the credit for the happy outcome goes to the Governor. If he had persisted in the same stiff attitude that he had taken up in his speech in the Assembly and had not yielded, if he had desired to shoot down the people of Bardoli, he could have killed us. On the contrary, it was your pledge not to raise a hand against them even if they had tried to kill you. It was

[1] This appeared under the title "Immortal Words".

[2] From *Young India*, 13-9-1928

your pledge neither to show them your back nor to raise a stick or even a finger against their bullets. So the Governor could have razed Bardoli to the ground if he had so willed. Had he done that, then too Bardoli would have won, but that would have been a different kind of victory. We would not have been alive to celebrate it, but the whole of India and the whole world would have celebrated it. However, we should not wish any of us, even the officers, to have such a stony heart. Let us not forget these things in this mammoth meeting of Bardoli Taluk where the people who took the pledge[1] of 1921 have got together. I have made these introductory remarks in order to drive out any pride that might be hidden in ourselves.

It is from a distance I wished for your success. I was not one of those who came and worked amidst you. Vallabhbhai had me in his pocket and, if he had desired, he could have brought me here at any minute, but I cannot take the credit for the victory. This is your and your Sardar's victory and the Governor has a share in it; and if that is so, his officers and the members of the Assembly also have a share in it. We must acknowledge the share of all those who sincerely desired a settlement. We must of course thank God for this victory. But God remains aloof and uses us mortal creatures as instruments to get His work done. We should, therefore, give due credit for the victory to all other people who contributed towards it. If we do so, very little credit will remain for us to claim and it is best that that should be so.

This is the fulfilment of only the first half of your pledge. The latter part has still to be made good. We have got what we demanded from the Government. It has given what it could. Now you have immediately to pay off the revenue dues on the old basis. Do that soon. Moreover, befriend those who had opposed us. Befriend also the officers of those days who are still in your taluk. Otherwise, you will be said to have violated your pledge. For the fulfilment of the first half of our pledge we had to approach the Government; but its latter part we have to fulfil ourselves. Not to have a bad word for anyone, and not to harbour anger towards anyone constitute the fulfilment of the remaining part of our pledge.

Let us go still further. This pledge of ours is a new and a small one—it is only a drop in the ocean. The pledge which was taken in this district in 1922 was a formidable one. That still remains unfulfilled. You have gone through this training to fulfil that

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXII, pp. 100-1.

pledge. I pray to God and ask of you that you fulfil that pledge.

Fulfil your pledge under the banner of none else but the Sardar, under whose leadership you have fulfilled the first part of the pledge so magnificently. You will never find such a self-sacrificing leader as he. He is like a blood-brother to me, but I do not hesitate to give him this testimonial.

I do not consider it difficult to face a bullet in the chest, but to work daily, to fight the self at every moment and to purify one's soul is a difficult task. Two different sorts of people can face bullets in two different ways. A criminal commits a crime and faces a bullet, but can one achieve swaraj thus? He alone who faces a bullet after self-purification can win swaraj, and this is a difficult thing to do. It is difficult to provide food, drink, clothing and work to those who lack them. Most of you probably do not know how pitiable is the condition of the people of Orissa. I have often talked particularly to the sisters about the skeletons of that Province. If I try to describe their conditions to you, tears will come to your eyes as well as mine. You may think this an exaggeration, but if I take you there you will see the conditions with your own eyes. It is difficult to put flesh on those skeletons, but that is our pledge.

You aré in debt as long as your pledge remains unfulfilled. May God give you and all of us the strength and the good sense to fulfil it.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 19-8-1928

202. *SPEECH AT BARDOLI*[1]

August 12, 1928

I want to remind you that the pledge you took in 1922 after a searching cross-examination[2] still stands unredeemed. That pledge was not taken only once but has been reaffirmed many times since then. The letter to the Viceroy was withdrawn, but the pledge was not revoked. After consultation with the people, an association was also formed in the taluk to work for the ful-

[1] This was published in *Young India* under the title "Work as You Have Fought". The first five paragraphs and the eighteenth (the second one under the sub-title "Remember Our 'Skeletons'") are translated from *Navajivan*, 19-8-1928, where they appeared under the title "Immortal Words".

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXII, pp. 287-94.

filment of that pledge. That was the origin of the constructive work which is being carried on in Bardoli. It is not that all this has been achieved smoothly, without any hindrance. What kind of difficulties the volunteers have had to face and how Bhai Narahari[1] had to undertake a fast are part of history. I do not want to go into it today. No one can be complacent as long as this pledge remains unfulfilled.

Although you have assembled here to celebrate a festival, utilize the occasion for self-examination so that you may not forget your duties. Volunteers should celebrate festivals only in this manner. The victory is only a drop in the ocean. Where there is such leadership and where there are such disciplined volunteers, I do not consider this victory a difficult achievement. We did not wish to seize power from the Government. We only wanted a particular injustice to be redressed. In such circumstances, I believe that in no other way is justice as easily secured as by satyagraha.

The country need not have been amazed at the outcome of the struggle. If none the less it was, there is an explanation for it. Our faith in satyagraha had been shaken. India did not have before now such an overpowering example of success. It is true that there were the instances of Borsad and Nagpur. I have not stated it anywhere else, but I believe that the victory at Nagpur, too, was complete. Fortunately or unfortunately, we did not then have anyone like the representative of *The Times of India* to publicize our struggle. His vilification has made Bardoli famous not only in India, but in the whole world. Otherwise we have done nothing great. We would be said to have done something great when we make good the unfulfilled pledge of 1921. It is Bardoli's responsibility to do so. I was about to say that the blot on Bardoli would be removed only when we fulfil our pledge, but I restrained myself. We cannot call it a blot because what we could not achieve in Bardoli has not been achieved elsewhere either. But whether you describe the work as a responsibility to be undertaken or a blot to be removed, it still remains to be done. This struggle would be helpful in accomplishing that and that is why I have welcomed it.

How fortunate are we that we got an opportunity for such a struggle in Bardoli itself and that we succeeded completely in it! We got all we had asked for. We could have demanded the

[1] Narahari Parikh; he fasted because the people of a village under his charge refused to make amends for their cruel behaviour towards the Dublas.

fulfilment of more conditions than we actually did. As one of the terms we could have demanded an inquiry into the allegations about the coercive measures adopted by the Government while collecting the revenues. But we did not make such a demand and that was Vallabhbhai's generosity. A satyagrahi is satisfied if he gets the essential thing, he is not greedy or obstinate about other things.

What should we do now? We should make this celebration an occasion for self-examination. Those volunteers who had come here only for the struggle and had intended to go back when it was over should do so. But those who are not bound to go and who have impressed Vallabhbhai should stay here and should know that they are fit for doing this work only. This work will test their worth.

Fighting Not the Only Work

You are labouring under a great delusion if you think that fighting by itself will bring swaraj. Let me tell you that even veteran warriors, men of the sword, do not make fighting the sole concern of their lives. Garibaldi was a great Italian General, but he drove the plough and tilled the soil just like an ordinary peasant whenever he could get respite from fighting. Again, what was Botha, the South African General? A farmer among farmers, like any in Bardoli. A great keeper of sheep as he was, his flock numbered forty thousand. As a judge of sheep he could hold his own against any expert and even won a diploma for sheep-keeping. Although he won laurels as a General, fighting occupied a very small part of his life which was mostly devoted to peaceful constructive pursuits. He thus showed constructive talent of no mean order. And General Smuts? He was not merely a distinguished General, but a lawyer by profession, being at one time the Attorney-General of South Africa, and an excellent farmer to boot. He has an extensive farm near Pretoria and his fruit orchard is among the finest in South Africa. All these are instances of men who though they made their mark in the world as Generals were none the less keenly alive to the value and importance of steady constructive work.

South Africa was not from the very first the rich, prosperous country that it is today. When the colonists arrived there, they found before them an undeveloped country. They cleared the waste and established a prosperous colony on it. Do you think they did it by mere dint of fighting? No. The development was the result of patient constructive labour. Will you follow Vallabh-

bhai's lead in his constructive campaign just as you did when he led you against the Government; will you take up the burden of constructive work, or will you hang back? Remember, if you fail in this, all the fruits of your victory will be lost and the peasant's last state will be worse than their first in spite of one lakh of enhanced assessment that they might save as a result of this struggle.

Repair and Reconstruction

Look at the condition of the roads in your taluk. The local volunteers can clean them up and set them in proper order by a couple of days' effort if they like. And once they are set in order, it should not need more than half an hour's instruction daily to teach the villagers how to keep them in a fit condition. You may doubt, but you may take it from me that there is a very close connection between this sort of work and swaraj. Driving out the English will not by itself establish swaraj in India. Of course we must fight when our liberty is interfered with. But what next? Do we want the swaraj of barbarism, freedom to live like pigs in a pigsty without let or hindrance from anybody? Or do we want the swaraj of orderliness in which every man and everything is in his or its proper place? Only yesterday I had to motor from Vankaner to Bardoli, the journey well nigh finished me. The road was so wretched. This reminds me of a similar incident that once happened in Champaran. The road was bad, but the volunteers there put their shoulders to the wheel and forthwith made the necessary repairs without waiting for anybody's help. Do not think that I am complaining about roads because of yesterday's experience. We ought to learn to keep our roads in good repair.[1] It is no use saying that this is the duty of the Government and not yours. The Government has no doubt many a grievous sin to answer for. Let us not impute our sins also to the Government or use the latter's lapses to justify ours. Enough unto the day is the evil thereof. Surely the Government cannot prevent us from repairing our roads if we want to.

Village Sanitation

Then, may I ask you what you have done to popularize the principles of sanitation and hygiene in the villages? It involves no complications as in untouchability. It only puts to the test our sincerity and depth of feeling towards those amongst whom

[1] This and the preceding sentence are from *Navajivan*.

we live. We shall be unfit for swaraj if we are unconcerned about our neighbour's insanitation and are content merely to keep our own surroundings clean. With the wonderful awakening and the spirit of co-operation that has come over the men and women of Bardoli, you should be able to convert it into a model taluk. By a general clean-up of the village surroundings, you should be able completely to eliminate the danger of scorpions and poisonous reptiles that infest this taluk. And I want to burn the lesson deep in your mind that all this will constitute a distinct step towards swaraj.

Temperance

Not less important is the work in connection with the liquor habit. It has got to be primarily done by us. The utmost that the Government can do or be made to do in this respect is to cease issuing toddy licences, but it can hardly wean the drunkard from his evil habit. That part of the work will still have to be undertaken by Phulchandbhai and his Bhajan Mandali, even if the Government were to screw up its courage and forgo 25 crores of excise revenue by adopting a policy of total prohibition. Are you prepared to shoulder the burden? Are you prepared smilingly to take lathi blows on your bodies should it be necessary in the course of your work? Can you guarantee that your pickets will not disgrace themselves by rowdyism and worse as some of them did in 1921?[1]

Hindu-Muslim Unity

Again are you prepared to work for and lay down your life to establish Hindu-Muslim unity? Will you be able to keep your heads cool and offer pure satyagraha when communal passions run high and people lose their heads?

Khadi

Then again, have you an abiding faith in the spinning-wheel? Have you recognized that our present struggle would have been impossible unless the spinning-wheel had paved the way? Do you realize that but for khadi work our workers would not have been able to win the confidence of the Raniparaj people and acquire the influence that they have over them? And if you have, are you prepared to train yourselves as spinning experts, to go on turning the spinning-wheel without fuss or bustle with the name

[1] In Bombay on November 17, during the visit of the Prince of Wales

of Rama or Allah on your lips? Today there are hardly half a dozen men in the country who know how to correct a spindle. The problem is as old as the khadi movement. The Mysore Government has made several attempts to produce absolutely true spindles, but has met with little success. Lakshmidasbhai is even at present carrying on correspondence in this behalf with Germany. Yet anyone by application can learn to correct a spindle. Just imagine what an increase it would mean in the output of khadi even with the existing wheels if we could solve this and a few other small questions of a like character. Will Vallabhbhai be able to interest you in this work or do you tell me that these are mere fads of a faddist and that Vallabhbhai knows better than to foist them upon you? You may say so if you like, but again I tell you that there is no other way to swaraj than this.

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

I come next to the problem of untouchability which includes the question of the Dublas. Will you be able to bring together and establish harmonious relations between the Dublas and the Ujali population? Do you realize that unless this is done, you will never be able to found real swaraj? Or dare you hope that you will bring round the refractory by main force once swaraj is established?

You cannot shirk these and like problems if you want to utilize your victory to win freedom for all India. By all means take up any other constructive work, if you can think of any, if the work that I have suggested does not appeal to you. One cannot go on fighting always. But an outlet must be found for our stored-up energy and that can only be through constructive work. We have a lot of corporate cleaning-up to do yet, a host of social evils to purge out. Miss Mayo's book[1] has been justly condemned as being written with a malicious motive. It is full of deliberate misstatements and palpable falsehoods. But I am not prepared to say that there is no basis in fact for anything she says. Surely, some of the evils mentioned by her do exist in our midst, though the inferences that she has drawn from them are wholly unjustifiable and unwarranted. Child-marriage, the marriage of young girls with aged men, the inhuman treatment often accorded to our widows are painful and grim realities that stare us in the face. How do we propose to deal with these evils?

[1] *Mother India*

Not Enough

The way in which the Hindus, Mussalmans and Parsis of this taluk stood shoulder to shoulder together in the course of the struggle was splendid. All honour to them. But can we lay our hand on our heart and say that a real and abiding heart-unity between the various communities in this taluk has been established? Would you have been able to keep together without the consummate tact of the Sardar and the presence of an Abbas Tyabji or an Imam Saheb in your midst? Are you sure that you will be able to remain unaffected even if the whole country is plunged into an orgy of communal hatred? Well, I doubt.

Organic Swaraj

An act of Parliament might give you constitutional swaraj. But it will be a mere chimera that will profit us but little if we are unable to solve these internal problems. In fact, ability to solve these problems is the alpha and omega of real swaraj, the swaraj of the masses that we all want.

Remember Our 'Skeletons'

Then I should like to know how your volunteers here have handled funds, like a spendthrift or like a miser. Have they been able to remain free from the but too common weakness of being lax with regard to the use of public funds? I take it that there has been no extravagance or reckless expenditure in your case. But what we need is Spartan simplicity. I shall be only too glad to be told that the strictest standard of economy was observed throughout. Nothing will give me greater satisfaction than to find that you have learnt to do better in this respect than is usual with volunteers in general.

Ours is the poorest country in the world. Moreover, our Government is the most extravagant in the world save that of America. If we observe the working of the hospitals here, we shall find that money is spent in them according to standards prevailing in England. Even the hospitals in Scotland would not spend so much money. Col. Maddock told me that in Scotland they could not afford to throw away the used bandages as we do here, that they were put to use again after they had been washed. England can afford to act in that manner. They have left their country for adventure and they have found in ours a field for exploitation. Our true standard can be ascertained by what the majority of people get to wear and to protect themselves with. We must assess our needs on the basis of that standard

and spend money accordingly. If we do not do that, we will lose ultimately.

WORK IN FAITH

All this requires faith and patience and hope. It may not be given to an old man like me, who has almost come to the end of his journey, and is therefore anxious to see swaraj established in India, to live to witness the fulfilment of his hope, but surely you, who are in the prime of your life, should work in the hope of seeing swaraj established in your lifetime. You must turn the searchlight inward. Have you a genuine love and sympathy for the dumb masses whose cause you are out to serve? Have you completely identified yourselves with them and their sufferings? Do you feel like taking up the broom and cleaning their latrines if they are dirty?

BE TRUE SOLDIERS

This is a stupendous task and requires all the volunteers that we can have. But they must first learn the lesson of discipline, of rendering implicit obedience to the orders of the chief, of taking up the meanest task that might be entrusted to them with cheerfulness, alacrity and zeal. If we do all that we shall win the battle of swaraj as easily as this fight.

Young India, 13-9-1928

203. SPEECH AT SURAT[1]

[*August 12, 1928*][2]

For a satyagrahi nothing can be truer than to say that no one but God is to be thanked and praised for the triumph of the Bardoli Satyagraha. Indeed we need say nothing more. But I know that that is not going to give us satisfaction, for the conviction has not yet gone home to us that we are but instruments in His hand and He uses us as He wills. We have not yet learnt the virtue of surrender to God. Man is yet part man part beast, indeed more beast than man and so his ego is not satisfied with praising God alone. In fact in remembering Him on occasions like this we feel as though we were obliging Him. Following our animal nature therefore we may congratulate our Sardar, his

[1] This appeared under the title "Remember 1921" with the introductory words: "The following is a condensed summary of Gandhiji's speech at Surat on the occasion of the Bardoli victory celebrations."

[2] From *The Bombay Chronicle*, 14-8-1928

companions and his volunteers and the men and women of Bardoli. Vallabhbhai alone would not have won the battle without the faithful co-operation of his co-workers. But even so should we thank His Excellency the Governor, the officials, and M.L.Cs. for their having helped in bringing about a happy settlement. We should be lacking in humility, we should be so much the less satyagrahis if we failed in our duty to render our thanks to those who were opposed to us.

The vast gathering of the citizens of Surat, seated before me on wet earth, with so much inconvenience to themselves, reminds me of 1921. I still remember the words I addressed to you in 1921 on this very spot.[1] Possibly some of you also can recall what I said, and I propose to remind you how we have failed to do the things that we decided to do seven years ago. The lesson of Bardoli will have been lost on us if Bardoli and Surat go to sleep over the Bardoli victory after having had victory celebrations and dinners. Vallabhbhai has been telling the Bardoli people that it is easier to fight Government than to fight our own people, for we naturally make — and should make, if we were men — mountains out of molehills of Government's injustice. But we fight shy as soon as we are face to face with our own drawbacks and shortcomings. I therefore reminded the Bardoli people,[2] who had fulfilled the first half of their pledge, of the second half, viz., of paying up the old assessment. That I know will be done in the course of a few days. But what next? How will you husband the tremendous stores of energy and enthusiasm that you have brought into being during the satyagraha campaign? How will you utilize the unprecedented awakening that has come amongst the women of Bardoli? How will you serve them, how will you identify yourselves with them and help to remove their misery? Satyagraha includes civil disobedience, civil resistance to the tyranny of blind authority, but the capacity of resistance presupposes self-purification and constructive work. If I were to ask you to render account of what you have done since 1921 in the direction of self-purification and constructive work I know you and I would have to shed bitter tears.

I want to tell you that I continue to be what I was in 1921. I have the same inexorable conditions to place before you, conditions which are a *sine qua non* for peace, prosperity, swarajya, *Ramarajya*, or the Kingdom of God that we are hankering after.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXI, p. 280.
[2] *Vide* "Speech to Volunteers, Bardoli", 12-8-1928.

What right have the Hindus and Mussalmans of ease-loving Surat to talk of swaraj, so long as they run at one another's throat in the name of God, and then run to the courts to seek justice? If you are truly brave, you may fight one another on equal terms, but you may not seek the protection of courts of justice. The English and the Germans fought on fields of battle, but did not go to law-courts. There is some bravery in free and fair fighting, but none in running to law-courts. Let the Hindus and Mussalmans fight a pitched battle, if they will, let them fight fair and clean and decide their issues. Their names will then go down in history. But this fighting, followed by protracted wrangles in law-courts, is not bravery. Our present ways are not ways of bravery but of cowardice. True bravery lies in laying down one's life for the sake of religion, in voluntary surrender of non-essentials. That is the lesson of Bardoli, and it will have been lost on us if we lose ourselves in the frenzy of victory celebrations. Until we who have sprung from the same soil and are children of the same motherland, though belonging to different faiths, learn to love one another as blood-brothers, victories like that of Bardoli will be of no avail.

Another item is the purification of Hinduism. Have you purged it of its deepest stain? True swaraj I repeat is impossible without self-purification. I do not know any other way. Call it my limitation, but then it is the limitation of satyagraha. If there is any other way, I do not know it, and anything won by means other than those of self-purification will not be swaraj but something else.

The third and the last thing in our programme is the duty of men of all religions and all races towards the skeletons of the land. The charkha, I may repeat *ad nauseam*, is the only remedy. I have come across a strong justification of the charkha from a strange quarter. Sir Lallubhai Samaldas in his review of the ponderous Agricultural Commission's Report has shown how the Commissioners have shunned like an untouchable even the mention of the word spinning-wheel in the chapter on subsidiary industries. How is it that they have fought shy of a thing which provides the only occupation to the starving millions? I submit that the potency of the spinning-wheel lies in that very fact. They might have at least criticized it and even ridiculed it. But no. They could not contemplate with equanimity its infinite possibilities. (A heavy shower of rain.) Well I have really done, and need say nothing more.

Young India, 16-8-1928

204. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
[Before *August 13, 1928*][1]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

Does Vidyavati take a steam [bath]? She should be made to lie wrapped in a sheet soaked in cold water. Soak the sheet in clean, cold water, wring it well and spread it on the bed. Let Vidyavati lie on it, then wrap the rest of the sheet around her and cover her with a woollen blanket. The face would be left uncovered. She should lie on the sheet naked to the waist. If the body does not warm up in this position and she feels the cold she must leave the bed. I have an idea that Gangabehn knows about this bath because I had instructed her about it. Leave it if you have not understood it. Bathing in water in which neem leaves have been boiled may do some good. I suspect Vidyavati does not stick to her diet.

I am glad to learn that *Ma* is better.

Tell Kamlabehn Gandhi that I am not replying to her letter as I shall reach the Ashram on Monday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3326

205. TELEGRAM TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA[2]

[*August 13, 1928*]

NANABHAI MASHRUWALA
AKOLA

ASHRAM DEEPLY GRIEVED BALUBHAI'S DEATH.[3]

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 14757

[1] From the reference to reaching Sabarmati Ashram on Monday, August 13, 1928; *vide* also "Letter to Prabhavati", 6-8-1928.

[2] In reply to a telegram dated August 13, 1928, which read: "Sorry Balubhai died suddenly Bombay morning. Nanabhai, Kishorelal." *Vide* also the two following items.

[3] *Vide* also "Passing away of a Silent Worker", 19-8-1928.

206. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

Monday [August 13, 1928][1]

CHI. KISHORELAL[2],

What shall I say to comfort Nanabhai or you? Both of you look upon death as a friend. Our grief can only be due to our selfishness. Before his death, Balubhai wrote to me a sweet letter. It was about Bardoli. In fact he wished to go there, but, since the doctor did not permit it, he contented himself with a letter. You will do a wrong if you do not ask for any service which the Ashram can render. We can even look after the children.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 2659. Courtesy: Kanubhai Nanalal Mashruwala

207. LETTER TO NILKANTH MASHRUWALA

Monday [August 13, 1928][3]

CHI. NILKANTH,

I had no wire from you, but I received one from Akola. Balubhai's soul rests in peace. We may shed tears through selfishness, but you at any rate have learnt the truth about the highest good of human life. Use your wisdom at this juncture and, displaying patience yourself, comfort others. Ask for any service we can render from here.

Write to me from time to time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9172. Courtesy: Nilkanth Mashruwala

[1] From the postmark

[2] Youngest brother of Balubhai Ichchharam Mashruwala

[3] From the reference to the death of Balubhai, addressee's father; *vide* also the two preceding items.

208. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter enclosing the circular about the Exhibition. I see now what you are aiming at and I can appreciate your standpoint. But I am sorry I cannot endorse it. According to the circular you will be free to admit many foreign exhibits and mill-cloth. The only difference between Madras and Calcutta would be that Calcutta will exclude British goods, whereas British machinery was exhibited at the Madras Exhibition. In the circumstances I would personally like to abstain from identifying the All-India Spinners' Association with the Exhibition.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
1 WOODBURN PARK, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 1595

209. LETTER TO DR. S. C. BANERJEE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 14, 1928

DEAR SURESH BABU,

I got your two letters in Bardoli from where I have just returned. I shall certainly deal with your report in the pages of *Young India*.[1]

With reference to the Exhibition I am in touch with Sjt. Subhas Babu. I enclose herewith a copy of my latest letter[2] to him. I must confess that I do not like the idea surrounding the forthcoming Exhibition. If I had my way I should not exhibit not only British goods but also foreign goods unless they are so valuable and yet so unknown as to require a special advertise-

[1] *Vide* "Abhoy Ashram", 27-9-1928.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

ment through the Congress Exhibition. And I should certainly not exhibit mill-cloth; for, mills neither need nor deserve any advertisement from us.

Yours sincerely,

DR. SURESH C. BANERJEE
COMILLA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13658

210. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 14, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter.

Here is a copy of my letter[1] to Sjt. Subhas Bose in reply to his letter.

I have just returned from Bardoli.

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN, SODEPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 13655

211. LETTER TO R. B. GREGG

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 14, 1928

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have your letter. As soon as I receive the manuscript of your Science notes[2] I shall certainly go through them and then hand them to Kaka for his opinion too.

With reference to the publication, whilst I appreciate your arguments[3], somehow or other my inner being dislikes the idea. However I shall be able to judge better after I see the notes.

I hope you will not make yourself sick with overwork before you leave for America. I would like you to leave in a perfectly healthy condition.

[1] Dated August 14, 1928
[2] A booklet entitled "Science for Kiddies"
[3] In favour of giving the booklet to Macmillan & Co.

The index and everything else can wait if you cannot easily find time for them.

I never thought that you did not know that Andrews was in England. He had the intention even whilst he was here of going to America. Of course you will meet him there. He is going there in September.

Yes, Bardoli is a great lesson. It has revived faith in non-violent methods and in power of the masses.

My love to the Stokes.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13489

212. LETTER TO GIRDHARILAL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 15, 1928

DEAR LALA GIRDHARILAL,

Yes, all you say about Bardoli is true. The praise is well deserved by the satyagrahis and above all Vallabhbhai.

I like the idea of your saving the few annas by resisting the temptation to send a telegram. But it shows also that you have lost again. I would so like you not to go in for ambitious schemes and be satisfied with what little God may give you.

Yours sincerely,

LALA GIRDHARILAL
'DIWAN BHAWAN', DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13492

213. LETTER TO JETHALAL JOSHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 15, 1928

BHAISHRI JETHALAL,

I have your letter. Think more deeply about *brahmacharya* and strive to observe it. You need not be in a hurry to start eating with others or to take the vow of [non-] possession. Peace is found in ceaseless service. We cannot give the best service without perfect humility. Being without desire is to look forward to nothing and how can one who has renounced expectation be

ever disappointed? One should read regularly the *Bhagavad Gita* and the *Ramayana* to cultivate such a state of mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1345

214. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Wednesday [August 15, 1928][1]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letters. You now can say that you have recovered. It would be very good indeed if the hakim's treatment restores you to health and cures you permanently of your disease. I have not received Ramdevji's letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 496. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

215. LETTER TO BECHAR PARMAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 15, 1928

BHAI BECHAR,

I have your letter. I do not know if you have lost your fitness for barber's work, and, even if you have, I think you ought to learn it again in case you have to turn to it. If you were not a teacher, I would not have asked you to become one; on the contrary, I would have dissuaded you from such an intention. Since, however, you are already a teacher, I have been advising you not to give up that work with this thought in my mind that you would regard its value as a means of livelihood as secondary and devote yourself entirely to service through it. As a teacher, you have opportunities of service. If you use them properly, you will easily be able to practise self-purification. If while doing service as a teacher you can overcome false shame, learn the value of physical labour yourself and teach it to the children

[1] From the postmark

under your charge, you will progress spiritually and also benefi the children.

Blessings fro
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5575

216. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

ASHRAM, SABARMAT
August 15, 192

CHI. TULSI MAHER,

I have your letter. The beauty of the Himalayan regio needs no description. Many changes are coming about in th Ashram. Kishorelal's elder brother Balubhai has passed away The sample of khaddar is good. How much does it cost?

Blessings fro
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6535

217. SOUTH AFRICAN CONDONATION

In continuation of what I wrote[1] last week about the condo nation scheme I now publish for the information of those who hav rights of residence in South Africa the following relevant corres pondence[2] from the supplement to *Indian Opinion*, 13th July last:

The following is the form[3] of Condonation Permit to be issue to a condonee under the Regulations published in the *Unio Government Gazette* dated 29th June, 1928:

I need not warn the reader that I shall be unable to giv individuals any guidance beyond the publication of the relevar papers. I can only refer the parties interested for further infor mation to the Transvaal Indian Congress, Natal Indian Congres or the Cape Town British Indian Council as the case may be.

Young India, 16-8-1928

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 9-8-1928, sub-title, "South African Condonation".
[2] & [3] *Vide* Appendix II.

218. A SIGN OF THE TIMES

Bardoli is a sign of the times. It has a lesson both for the Government and the people — for the Government if they will recognize the power of the people when they have truth on their side and when they can form a non-violent combination to vindicate it. By such recognition a wise Government consolidates its power which is then built upon people's goodwill and co-operation not merely in act enforced by brute power but in speech and thought as well. Non-violent energy properly stored up sets free a force that becomes irresistible. So far as I have been able to see, there is no doubt that the settlement has been wrung from an unwilling Government by the pressure of a public opinion that was ever gathering force in geometrical progression. It is said that His Excellency the Governor was most willing from the commencement to concede the satyagrahis' demands but that his advisers were equally determined in their opposition. If that is so, whilst it reflects credit upon the Governor, it bodes ill for the Government; for the British Government is not individualistic, it is a powerful organization capable of working irrespective of individuals. It has persisted without Gladstone and Disraeli, without Kitchener and Roberts. The organization behind the Government in India is the Civil Service. What the Sardar of Bardoli wanted was a change of heart in the Civil Service. What one is told and observes is that the Civil Service is not satisfied with the settlement. If it was satisfied the persistent campaign of lies carried on about the Sardar and his doings would have stopped. Whilst I was in Bardoli, I constantly heard the complaint through inspired newspaper paragraphs that Vallabhbhai Patel had not carried out his part of the settlement, and I knew that he was carrying it out as fast as he could and had already carried out that part of it about which the complaint was made and before it was made. I can only say that the Government, if it is true that the Civil Service is resisting the settlement, is doomed, assuming of course that the non-violence of Bardoli is an organization capable of being sustained without particular individuals.

Let us therefore turn to the people of Bardoli. The lesson that they have to learn is that so long as they remain united in non-violence they have nothing to fear, not even unwilling officials. But have they learnt that lesson, have they recognized the unseen

power of non-violence, have they realized that if they had committed one single act of violence, they would have lost their cause? If they have, then they will know from day to day that they will not become a non-violent organization unless they undergo a process of what may be called continuous corporate cleansing. This they can only do by engaging in carrying out a well-thought-out constructive programme requiring combined effort and promoting common good. In other words before they can claim to have become a non-violent organization, they must receive education in non-violence not through speeches or writings, necessary as both may be, but through an unbroken series of corporate acts, each evoking the spirit of non-violence. Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel knows what he is about. He has set for himself this more difficult task of constructive effort or internal reform. May God grant him therein the same measure of success that has attended the struggle against the Government.

Young India, 16-8-1928

219. THE NEHRU REPORT

Pandit Motilal Nehru and his colleagues[1] deserve the highest congratulations for the very able and practically unanimous report they have been able to bring out on the question that has vexed all parties for the past long months. The report is well got up, accessible in book form and printed in bold type. No public man can afford to be without it. It is signed by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir Ali Imam, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sjt. M. S. Aney, Sardar Mangal Singh, M. Shuaib Qureshi, Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, and Sjt. G. R. Pradhan. About M. Shuaib Qureshi's signature however there is the following note at the end of the report:

> Mr. Shuaib Qureshi was unfortunately unable to be present at the last meeting of the Committee when the draft report was considered. The draft however was sent to him and he has informed us that in regard to the recommendations contained in Chapter III he is of opinion that one-third seats in the Central Legislature should be reserved for Muslims. Further, he says: "I agree with the resolution adopted at the informal conference of July 7 but do not subscribe to all the figures and arguments produced in its support."

[1] Sub-committee appointed by the All-Parties Conference held in Bombay on May 19, 1928 "to determine the principles of a constitution for India" (*India in 1928-29*, p. 26)

The report covers 133 pages, appendices 19 pages. The report is divided into ten chapters, of which four deal with the communal aspect, reservation of seats, re-distribution of provinces and Indian States. The seventh chapter contains the final recommendations of the Committee. I must not attempt to summarize the report, if only because it has come into my hands at the moment of sending the last articles for *Young India.* I have not even the time to study the report in full beyond having a cursory glance through it. But the great merit of it is that the All-Parties Conference Committee has at last been able to produce a unanimous report bearing weighty representative signatures. In the matter of the constitution the main thing was not to present perfect recommendations but to secure unanimity for the recommendations that might in the circumstances be considered the best possible. And if the practical unanimity arrived at after strenuous labours by the Committee is sealed by the Conference about to meet at Lucknow,[1] a tremendous step will have been taken in the direction of constitutional swaraj as distinguished from what might be termed organic swaraj. For if the country arrives at a workable unanimity about the questions that have been agitating it for years, the next thing would be to work for the acceptance of our demands. And we have arrived at such a step in the country's history in our evolution that if we can secure real unanimity about any reasonable proposal, there should be no difficulty in securing acceptance. I hope therefore that the Conference will meet at Lucknow with a fixed determination to see the thing through and that the members who will be there will not engage in a critical examination of the report with a view to tear it to pieces but with the determination of arriving at a proper settlement. And if they will approach the report in that spirit, they will endorse the recommendations, except for valid reasons which would appeal to any sane persons. In thus commending this report to the public, I tender my congratulations to Pandit Motilal Nehru without whose effort there would have been no Committee, there would have been no unanimity and there would have been no report.

Young India, 16-8-1928

[1] On August 28, 1928; *vide* "After Lucknow", 6-9-1928.

220. NOTES

For Bardoli Fund Donors

The generous and spontaneous response that has been made to the appeal for funds for Bardoli Satyagraha is a sure index to the India-wide popularity of Bardoli Satyagraha. The settlement of the Bardoli question and the consequent stoppage of satyagraha render it unnecessary to keep the fund open any longer. The public are requested therefore not to send in fresh contributions to the fund. This however does not mean that no more money will now be required. The work in connection with the inquiry has still to be done and will involve some amount of expense. And if the tremendous energy generated during the satyagraha campaign is not to be frittered away, the constructive work must be done with redoubled vigour. The balance left will therefore be utilized first for the expense that might be incurred in connection with the inquiry and secondly and simultaneously for constructive work in the two taluks. There is no doubt that the organization of the campaign became possible only because constructive work had been going on in Bardoli for the last seven years. I am aware that there are places where Congress Committees and individuals have more funds collected for Bardoli but they have chosen to send these amounts in instalments. I need scarcely inform them that they should forward whatever is now in their hands either to the Ashram at Sabarmati, or Swaraj Ashram at Bardoli, or Navajivan Office or Congress Office in Ahmedabad. I understand that Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel has already arranged to have the accounts to date properly audited and published.

South Africa's Contribution

A friend writes from South Africa:

> Reuter cabled from India that the South African Indians are sending every month five lakhs of rupees for the Bardoli no-tax campaign. A mischievous thing, besides being a gross exaggeration. The prejudice caused by the remittance of moneys to India will now be deepened and given a sharp edge. So far as I have been able to ascertain, about £500 have been sent in all for the Bardoli fund.

It has not been without pain that I have followed the campaign of lies that has gathered round the Bardoli struggle. Nothing

was evidently considered too mean or too palpably absurd to damage a cause which had no secrecy about it and which was intended to cause no injury to a single soul and which had no direct political aim. Without verification and probably from malice prepense the falsehood that lakhs of rupees were being received by satyagrahis from South Africa was given currency. Well, the cause of satyagraha was not damaged by the false statement. But the cause of Indians in South Africa can be easily damaged if the white colonists can be persuaded to believe that vast sums of money are being sent from South Africa to Bardoli and that to sustain an agitation which they may dislike. I hope however that not much notice was taken of the statement in South Africa. Anyway I can corroborate what the correspondent says. Anyone can look at the accounts lying at Bardoli of receipts for the Bardoli Fund and he will find that the correspondent's information is much nearer the truth than the inflammatory statement cabled to South Africa.

Young India, 16-8-1928

221. *OUR JAILS*

In spite of my two years in Indian jails, I see that others who have been in them for much shorter periods than I have more knowledge of their working than I. The satyagrahi prisoners who were recently discharged tell me of the many hardships which can be avoided if there is some consideration shown to the prisoners as human beings. The experiences of a satyagrahi prisoner in the Surat Jail are that the prisoners are all cooped up in a small ill-ventilated and ill-lighted room, the food served is hardly digestible and not much facility given to the prisoners for keeping themselves clean.

The prisoners at the Sabarmati Central Prison give me more details. The flour issued is gritty, the dal is pebbly and often contains animal dirt. The satyagrahis were inclined to excuse the jail authorities for this defect saying it was the fault of the prisoners who had to do the cleaning and the grinding. I am unable to adopt the view. I feel that the authorities are bound to attend to the cleaning of foodstuff either by having it done outside or by effective supervision. It is futile to expect the prisoners especially in the way they are kept to do this or anything well or conscientiously. Instead of taking the most important work of cooking through them, it would be better and more economical to have the cooking and the preparatory work done through reliable agency

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Young India, 16-8-1928

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and take from the prisoners other tasks of a more remunerative nature and involving no danger to health.

Nor was unclean food indifferently cooked the whole of the complaint on this head. A kind of dry fermented stinking cabbage was rationed as green vegetable. From what the friends described I could gather that this cabbage was a kind of human silage copied from cattle silage, cabbage being re-vitalized by subjecting it to high fermentation. If the information given to me is correct, I can only say that the prison authorities are playing with prisoners' lives entrusted to their care.

Among the prisoners discharged were three in a weak condition; one a student who had completed his full term was discharged in a precarious condition. His condition was so far gone that in spite of all the loving attention being bestowed upon him by the Mahavidyalaya professors and students and skilled medical assistance he is not yet out of danger. I was informed that for several days in spite of his fever he was kept on coarse *jowari* bread for a time. I should not at all wonder if this indigestible bread caused intestinal inflammation.

I shall be glad to publish any explanation that the authorities may have to give in regard to these allegations.

I know that conditions being as they are prisoners may not expect the comforts of home life. I know too that satyagrahis may not grumble at their lot which in a way is of their own seeking. Nevertheless even a satyagrahi whether he complains or not should receive human treatment and should get food that is suited to his constitution and that is, above all else, clean and cleanly prepared.

Young India, 16-8-1928

222. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 16, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

Your report is a great document. I am hoping that the Conference that is to meet at Lucknow will give it all the serious consideration it deserves and not light-heartedly begin to tear it to pieces. The intrinsic merit of the report is so great as to ensure full attendance at Lucknow.[1]

[1] *Vide* also "The Nehru Report", 16-8-1928.

Before I got your warning I began to think out what could be done for the next year. But I must confess that I have not yet been able to hit upon anything to my liking. Lucknow might give me the inspiration.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13660

223. *LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 16, 1928

BHAISHRI NANABHAI,

I got your letter, as also Nilkanth's. I got Kishorelal's letter too. The more I reflect, the more I feel that Balubhai has not left us at all. Can the fragrance spread by him vanish? Nevertheless, I understand that one may feel grief at his passing away. Please look upon me as sharing in that grief. Tell Nath that I sent a wire to Kishorelal yesterday asking him to stay on in Akola.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I dictated this letter at three in the morning. Later I got your letter written from Bombay.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 2660. Courtesy: Kanubhai Nanalal Mashruwala

224. *SPEECH AT AHMEDABAD*[1]

[*August 16, 1928*][2]

For me there should be no need to attend this function or to say a word. When Vallabhbhai is presented with an address and I am there, and am asked to say something, that means that we both of us have got together and with your permission and in your presence have formed a mutual admiration society of which we both have become members. The intelligent citizens of Ahmedabad should never tolerate this.

[1] From Mahadev Desai's "Meaning of Bardoli"; the first two paragraphs and the fourth one are translated here from *Navajivan*, 19-8-1928, where they appeared under the title "Immortal Words".

[2] From the Bombay Secret Abstracts, p. 539, paragraph 1314

Vallabhbhai is a Patel by name and by fame. By achieving the victory of Bardoli he has made that fame his for ever. Have you ever heard of anyone presenting an address to a business man who upholds his reputation? How many addresses have you presented to Seth Mangaldas for the bills of exchange which he honours? I do not know what you would do if he did not honour them.

If you really want to congratulate the satyagrahis, I wish you understood the implications of the triumph and digested as much as suited your constitution. You may imitate the experiment, if you can, but I may tell you that imitation is not easy. As every individual has his individuality, events have theirs. Rather, therefore, than imitate an experiment, you should appreciate its inherent meaning and try to translate it in life. Non-co-operation, satyagraha, civil disobedience are constantly on our lips, and as many good things have been done in their name, some undesirable things have also been done. Let those who give these names their lip-loyalty realize their true meaning and implications. The fact that satyagraha is on every lip is an indication of the fact that all parties desire swaraj, but mere repetition of the word satyagraha or empty praise of it means nothing. You have to work for it, if you are to achieve anything.

A thirsty man cannot quench his thirst by his merely shouting that he is thirsty. He should work to construct tanks and sink wells, or fetch water from them. In other words, his thirst can be quenched only by his working to that end. Similarly, it will not help if you feel satisfied merely by hearing at this meeting the praises of satyagraha. I, therefore, request you to understand the meaning of satyagraha.

It is not Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel who has triumphed in Bardoli, it is truth and non-violence that have triumphed. If you think that they have rightly triumphed, you must adopt them as your weapons in every walk of life. I cannot promise that you will have success every time you try them. God has not made us omniscient so that we may be able to see whether we have achieved ultimate success or not. The poet who realized this truth has left us the legacy of his immortal phrase: "Immortal hope lies hidden in a thousand despairs." All we have to do is to work without hope of fruit or reward. If therefore you follow Sjt. Vallabhbhai's example and pursue truth and non-violence with his devotion, you may be sure that there will not be friends wanting to congratulate you.

Young India, 23-8-1928

225. CABLE TO RAJENDRA PRASAD[1]

[On or after *August 16, 1928*]

RAJENDRA PRASAD
JAYAWATI
LONDON

SUCCESS CONFERENCE[2].

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 14381

226. LETTER TO C. A. ALEXANDER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 18, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your prompt reply[3]. I have now heard from Mr. Saklatwala too.[4]

Many thanks for your enquiry about my health which I am glad to say is quite good.

I have now returned to Sabarmati.

Yours sincerely,

C. A. ALEXANDER, ESQ.
GENERAL MANAGER, THE TATA IRON AND STEEL CO. LTD.
JAMSHEDPUR (*via* TATANAGAR)

From a microfilm: S.N. 12778

[1] In reply to his cable from London, received on April 16, 1928, which read: "Youth Conference invite your message. Cable."

[2] The World Youth Congress held at Eerde in Holland

[3] Dated August 11, which read: "I . . . wish to say that the reference from your speech was put in a leaflet prepared at our head office in Bombay by Mr. [N.B.] Saklatwala, the Chairman, and others whom you know. . . ." (S.N. 13239)

[4] In his letter (S.N. 14457) dated August 15, Saklatwala had written: "I should regret it very much if we had improperly used your name in connection with this unfortunate [labour] dispute . . . In the hope of showing the men our position and the importance of keeping the Works in operation . . . and we did not think that we were unjustified in these circumstances in using your name in the hope of creating a peaceful atmosphere. . . ."

227. LETTER TO URMILA DEVI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 18, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

You must have seen in the papers that I have returned to the Ashram. You may now come whenever you like with Dhiren. I can understand and even appreciate Dhiren's disappointment. Everything however comes to those who wait, and if Dhiren has patience and qualifies himself, he may hope to take part in the final struggle which must come sooner or later if the time of its advent can be accelerated by those who wish to take part in it.

I hope that Sudhir is now thoroughly restored.

Yours sincerely,

SHRIMATI URMILA DEVI
4-A NAFAR KUNDU ROAD, KALIGHAT, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13493

228. ADHARMA IN THE NAME OF DHARMA

A gentleman writes from Mathura:[1]

As the Hindi is easy to understand I have not translated the letter. To show what the Shastra-knowing Brahmins of the North think of the devoted but misguided Vaishnavas of Gujarat, I have reproduced the above letter in the writer's own words. To spend thousands of rupees in serving sweets and considering it a religious act shows what things have come to at the present time. Feeling the pain of others is the central point of Vaishnava dharma. But simple-minded Vaishnavas have turned it into a means of enjoyment. As in the other parts of the country, in Govardhan[2] too the cattle wealth is being destroyed. The shortage of ghee and milk mentioned in the letter has been experienced by all the pilgrims. The rich Vaishnavas of Gujarat should heed this letter,

[1] The letter is not translated here. The letter dealt in detail with the waste of money and food in the name of religion, the ill-treatment of cows and scarcity of milk products in Mathura.

[2] A town near Mathura

wake up and save themselves from the *adharma* being perpetrated in the name of dharma.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-8-1928

229. IN CONFORMITY WITH SHASTRAS

We get evidence from all parts of India which proves how untouchability is losing its hold. Bharatbhushan Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is a pillar of sanatana dharma. He has written the following letter to Shri Jamnalalji in connection with the Lakshminarayana temple in Wardha.[1]

Jamnalalji has also received similar expressions of opinion from Shri Pramathnath Tarkabhushan Sharma and Shri Anandshankar Dhruva. Will those who claim to follow the sanatana dharma still cling to the practice of untouchability?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-8-1928

230. PASSING AWAY OF A SILENT WORKER

We all know of leaders who sit or stand on platforms—stand up to speak. Although so many of us would like to crowd the platform till it breaks, we would even then look and be like a drop in the ocean. Since, however, those who rise high on platforms have no more value than a drop's as compared to the ocean's, soldiers who never wish to rise high on to platforms but are pleased to remain in the ocean, that is, the common people and render service while remaining obscure are the only genuine workers. Balubhai Ichchharam Mashruwala who lived in Bombay was one such worker. He had both wealth and intelligence and used them silently in the service of the people. Balubhai's entire family is cultured. He did not rest satisfied with spending all his resources of body, mind and wealth in rendering service wherever he could. He passed on this noble training to his youngest brother Kishorelal, made him a lawyer and dedicated him to the service of the nation. This cultured public servant

[1] The letter is not translated here. Malaviya had congratulated Jamnalal Bajaj on throwing open the temple to all Hindu communities and digging a well from which all were permitted to draw water. *Vide* also "Notes", 26-7-1928, sub-title, "A Triumph of Justice".

passed away last week.[1] May God grant peace to his soul and give us innumerable such workers who would render silent service. Before dying, he wrote a letter[2], which I publish here as an expression of his love for the country, for truth and for non-violence.

Shri Kishorelal has given a very moving description of him in his letter[3] to me, and this too I give here:

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-8-1928

231. *GOVERNMENT'S POWER* v. *PEOPLE'S POWER*

Bardoli has proved that the power of the people is greater than that of the State as conclusively as that two and two make four. It can further be claimed that such success depends solely upon the people's capacity to remain peaceful and their capacity to offer peaceful resistance.

The power of the State is derived solely from its capacity to punish. Those persons who rid themselves of the fear of this punishment, despise such punishment and, without opposing the power of the State violently, act as if it did not exist, will always triumph. The people of Bardoli could not secure justice so long as they were afraid of being punished by the Government. As soon as they rid themselves of that fear, they realized that the officers were dependent upon the people and not *vice versa*.

The people also saw that, if they opposed the Government's violence by similar violence, the former would always succeed, whereas, if they suffered it, it lost its efficacy. They also found that this punishment was limited to their persons and possessions, and that it left their hearts wholly untouched. They freed themselves from its fear by surrendering their hearts to their Sardar.

From this we find that the people require neither physical nor intellectual strength to secure their own freedom; moral courage is all that is needed. This latter is dependent on faith. In this case, they were required to have faith in their Sardar, and such faith cannot be artificially generated. They found in the Sardar a worthy object of such faith and like a magnet he drew the hearts of the people to himself.

We, therefore, find that a satyagraha movement is bound to succeed if it gets a leader who is cultured, self-sacrificing and can

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Nanabhai I. Mashruwala", 13-8-1928.

[2] & [3] Not translated here

feel the pulse of the people, and if the people remain loyal to him.

Truth and non-violence were the principal factors in this struggle. The people's demand was just and for securing it they did not resort to untruthful means. There were many provocations to the people to become violent and resort to violent measures, but they remained completely peaceful. This is not to say that the people had accepted non-violence as a principle or that they did not harbour anger even in their minds. But they understood the practical advantage of non-violence, understood their own interest, controlled their anger and, instead of retaliating in a violent manner, suffered the hardships inflicted on them.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-8-1928

232. *SPEECH AT BRAHMO SAMAJ CENTENARY CELEBRATION, AHMEDABAD*[1]

August 20, 1928

I do not think I am at all fitted to say anything on this great occasion, but I consented to come because of the great esteem in which I held the late Ramanbhai and because I could not resist Shrimati Vidyagauri. I am unfit to say anything today for many reasons. I have read nothing of or about Raja Ram Mohan Roy. What I know about him is based on what I have heard from his admirers. I do not claim to have studied the history of the Brahmo Samaj either. I made a desperate effort to read something today, something from a brochure on Ram Mohan Roy that we have in our library, but I could not find a moment for it. I therefore contented myself with the prayer that God might give me the right word to acquit myself of the task.

Although, then, I cannot claim to have studied the history of the Brahmo Samaj, I do claim to have a close connection with the members of the Brahmo Samaj extending over several years. It dates as far back as 1896 when I first visited Calcutta. In 1901 I came in contact with several eminent members of the

[1] This was published under the title "Brahmo Samaj's Contribution to Hinduism" with the following introductory note by Mahadev Desai: "Speaking on the 20th August at the Ahmedabad Prarthana Samaj on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj, Gandhiji delivered an address of which the following is a condensed translation."

Brahmo Samaj through Gokhale and Dr. P. C. Ray. I used to visit occasionally the Samaj Mandir, and listen to the sermons of the late Pratap Chandra Mozumdar. I also came in touch with the late Pandit Shivnath Shastri.

These experiences were enough to convince me that the Brahmo Samaj has rendered a great service to Hinduism, and that it has rescued the educated classes of India, especially Bengal, from unbelief. I have always regarded it as a movement essentially designed for the educated classes. Though religion in India sometimes takes the form of superstition, wooden formalism and hysterics, I cannot escape the conviction that a man cannot long remain an unbeliever in India. But the faith of the educated class in the early part of the nineteenth century was in danger and it was Ram Mohan Roy who came to their rescue. I have heard that he had come under the influence of Christian missionaries and Kakasaheb told me that he had made a deep study of Persian and Arabic. There can be no question about his scholarship or about his catholicity. He made a deep study of Hinduism, especially the religion of the Vedas, and then allowed himself to be influenced by the essential principles of Christianity and Islam. As a result he saw that there was for him no escape from inaugurating a new movement to liberalize the existing Hinduism which had been overgrown with superstitious weeds. Sacrifice of animals and social evils were flourishing in the name of Hinduism. How could the educated class tolerate it? It was open to Ram Mohan Roy to rest content with individual dissociation from the evils. But he was a reformer. He could not afford to hide his light under a bushel, he gave public expression to his views, secured a following and founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828.

But it would have languished, had not a man of great spiritual gifts like Maharshi Devendranath Tagore joined it. It is for the future historian to estimate the Tagores' contribution to the intellectual and spiritual life of Bengal, India, and even the world. Rabindranath Tagore's contribution in the direction has been stupendous. We cannot adequately estimate it, even as men living in the valleys of the Himalayas cannot adequately visualize their sublimity. And the Tagores received their inspiration from the Brahmo Samaj. The Brahmo Samaj liberated Reason, and left room enough for Faith. There was once a danger of the Brahmo Samaj severing its tie with Hinduism or the religion of the Vedas but the Maharshi's *tapasya*[1] and knowledge rescued the Brahmo

[1] Spiritual discipline

Samaj from that catastrophe. It is due to him that the Samaj remained part of Hinduism.

One may not measure the contribution of the Brahmo Samaj from the number of its adherents. The Brahmos are indeed very few but their influence has been great and good. The service of the Brahmo Samaj lies in its liberalizing and rationalizing Hinduism. It has always cultivated a toleration for other faiths and other movements, it has tried to keep the fountain source of religion pure and to hold up the ideal of pure worship of the Supreme Being.

Not that there is nothing for me to criticize in the Samaj, but this is not the occasion for it. My desire is to place before you whatever is best in the Brahmo Samaj. Let this celebration awaken the religious instinct in you. True religion is not narrow dogma. It is not external observance. It is faith in God, and living in the presence of God; it means faith in a future life, in truth and ahimsa. There prevails today a sort of apathy towards these things of the spirit. Our temples appear today to be meant only for the simple and the ignorant. Few visit real temples of God. Let the educated class take up the work of reform in this direction.

We have rightly honoured Vallabhbhai over the Bardoli victory. But you may not know his greater victory. Vallabhbhai realized his 'Vallabha' (God) in Bardoli. He saw that nothing but faith in God could keep together the thousands of men and women bound to their pledge. It is through religion that he found his approach to the hearts of those simple illiterate men and women.

I am inundated with letters from young men who write frankly about their evil habits and about the void that their unbelief has made in their lives. No mere medical advice can bring them relief. I can only tell them that there is no way but that of surrender to and trust in God and His grace. Let us all utilize this occasion by giving the living religion in our lives the place it deserves. Has not Akho Bhagat said:

Live as you will, but so
As to realize God.

Young India, 30-8-1928

233. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 21, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your letter. I have written for this week's *Young India* too on the forthcoming Conference[1]. But I thought it was better for me not to deal with the body of the report but rather emphasize the importance of avoiding theoretical criticism and appealing to the Mussalmans and Hindus not to insist upon the pound of flesh. What is the use of my dealing with the recommendations? My mind just now refuses to think of the form except when it is driven to it. For, I feel that we shall make nothing of a constitution be it ever so good, if the men to work it are not good enough. Anything reasonable therefore appears to me to be acceptable if only we have unanimity, because in the matter of the constitution, unanimity seems to be the most important thing. But I can say in general terms that you have succeeded wonderfully with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Ali Imam. I was not prepared for the endorsement of the franchise for instance, or of your solution of the Native States. But I see that the Hindu-Muslim question is still to be a thorny question.

With reference to myself I do not at all feel like moving out of Sabarmati just now. Indeed I should like to bury myself in Sabarmati and do whatever I can through writing in *Young India* and *Navajivan* and through correspondence. I have more than enough work for me in the Ashram, I do not know whether you are aware that Bardoli was possible because the Ashram was in existence. The majority of the workers in Bardoli owe their preparation to the Ashram directly or to its indirect influence. If I could but make of the Ashram what I want, I should be ready to give battle on an extensive scale.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13667

[1] *Vide* "All Eyes on Lucknow", 23-8-1928. For the earlier article, *vide* "The Nehru Report", 16-8-1928.

234. *LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 21, 1928

BHAISHRI KHAMBHATTA,

I have your letter, as also the sum of Rs. 100. There was no particular intention in publishing your name in the list of acknowledgments. It is enough for you to know that you do not crave publicity. If the name is published, that will certainly do you no harm. This time we have taken greater care. We should thank God if your ailment is cured. Write to me about it from time to time.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5017. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

235. *'THE TRUE CAPITAL AND THE FALSE'*

Sir Daniel Hamilton is a big proprietor, owns large estates in the Sundarbans, and is a careful student of banking and the co-operative movement. He has written many papers during the past twelve months on Indian banking and has been kind enough to send them to me from time to time. I invited him to write in a popular style on banking for the readers of *Young India*. He readily consented and followed up his tentative promise with speedy performance. The result is a paper entitled "Man or Mammon? or The True Capital and the False". I have divided the paper in five parts, the first of which appears elsewhere[1] in this issue of *Young India*. I do not pretend to know anything of banking. I am sorry to have to confess that I was never able to make time for studying Indian finance, important though I hold the subject to be. I am therefore unable to pronounce any opinion upon Sir Daniel Hamilton's argument. It is however sufficient for my purpose that Sir Daniel has written apparently without bias and with great sincerity. I commend Sir Daniel Hamilton's articles to

[1] Not reproduced here. The other four parts appeared weekly in successive issues.

the readers of *Young India* for careful study and shall be pleased to publish any criticism that Indian financiers may care to offer.

Young India, 23-8-1928

236. ALL EYES ON LUCKNOW

The Nehru Committee report has rightly attracted universal attention. All the leading Indians who have spoken upon it have blessed it. The critics have been obliged to write about it with marked restraint and often involuntary admiration. It has set everyone thinking.

All eyes are naturally therefore centred on Lucknow where Dr. Ansari has invited the All-Parties Conference to meet. A report that has compelled such attention is bound to draw a large and representative gathering.

What will the Conference do? It will be easy enough to render the proceedings of the Conference nugatory and reduce to nothingness the labours of the Nehru Committee. Mussalmans may destroy the great edifice built by patient effort on the ground that they have not got all they wanted. Hindus may vow never to yield an inch and thus make an advance impossible. Political theorists may pick big holes in the report. But they will all be wrong if they approach the report from their individual standpoints. We shall not easily get again anything so good as the report bearing the representative signatures it does.

Let all therefore approach the report from only one standpoint, i.e., the national. There is room enough under the constitution devised by the Committee for all to rise to their full height. Every legitimate interest has its protection guaranteed if it has enough vitality in itself for expansion. The franchise is the broadest possible.

Of course the impatient extremist will be dissatisfied. Let him know that the report represents the largest common measure possible for parties often representing opposite views. It will be anti-national to resist to the breaking point what is offered by this representative report.

Apart however from the standpoint of expediency, I venture to suggest that the report satisfies all reasonable aspirations and is quite capable of standing on its own intrinsic merits. All therefore that is needed to put the finishing touch to the work of the Nehru Committee is a little forbearance, a little mutual respect,

a little mutual trust, a little give and take and much confidence not in our little selves but in the great nation of which each one of us is but a humble member.

Young India, 23-8-1928

237. NOTES

Hindi-Hindustani

That Sir T. Vijayaraghavachari should deliver a public lecture at the Hindu High School in Triplicane, Madras, on the "Place of Hindi in Indian Education" is a sign of the times and proof of the efficacy of the work done by the Hindi Prachar Office in Madras which has carried on Hindi propaganda for the last seven years. The lecturer had no difficulty in showing that the fact that of the 300 million people of India, 120 million spoke Hindi and 80 million more understood it and that Hindi was the third most widely spoken language in the world "was by itself a strong reason for everyone learning Hindi". The learned speaker rightly thought that "six months would be a sufficient period for learning the language well." He contended that "the place of Hindi in Indian education must be compulsory. It ought to be a compulsory language in school, college and university." He concluded:

> We are all eagerly looking forward to the day when we shall all be Indians first and Madrasis or Bangalis next. The day will be hastened if Madrasis, who are the worst offenders in this respect, begin to learn Hindi in larger number.

The people of the South have every facility afforded to them through the Hindi Prachar Office of learning Hindi. Surely if we have real love of India as we have of our respective provinces, we would all learn Hindi without delay and avoid the humiliating spectacle of carrying on our proceedings in the popular assembly, i.e., the All-India Congress Committee, predominantly, if not often wholly, in English. Let me repeat once more what I have often said that I do not contemplate the suppression of provincial languages by Hindi but addition of Hindi to the former so as to enable provinces to establish a living contact with one another. This must result also in enriching both the provincial languages and Hindi.

Bardoli—A Victory of Peace

The following poetic bit from a love-letter of Shrimati Sarojini Devi's bears reproduction;

A pastoral vision of quiet beauty is spread all around me; the sunset has dyed the clouds in the west in the glowing colours of flame, and in the east in the tender colours of flowers; the low hills have taken on every dreamlike shadow steeped in blue and purple, and the undulating valley just below is settling down to rest, gathering the wandering sheep, hushing the wild doves and wild hawks to slumber, collecting the little groups of peasants and labourers to their thatched huts under the boughs of sheltering trees. . . . Soon all the denizens of the secluded colony set in the heart of such sylvan beauty will be at rest, each in his or her own bed, and soon the nightfall will wrap the hills and valley and woods in a velvet darkness. . . . But the darkness, alas, does not always bring comfort to the suffering. No sleep . . . What poignant vigils does the night witness, that the world never knows? . . . How many such poignant vigils have the people of Bardoli kept night after night? . . . But I rejoice that tonight the darkness will bring dreams of sweetness to those whose spirit was so unwearied in battle through long and terrible weeks. . . . The sleep of the satyagrahi when his work is over is indeed a gift of the gods. Do you remember the words of the German philosopher: "Let your work be a battle, let your peace be a victory." So it has been at Bardoli. The peace has indeed been a victory of peace and peaceful ways.

I have just finished the last page of the English version of your moving and vivid history of the South African Satyagraha when the post brought the papers with the longed for and joyful news of the Bardoli settlement . . . honourable to both sides. As I wrote to 'Sardar' Vallabhbhai a month ago, I have always felt and known that satyagraha in its deep authentic sense is literally "the treasure of the lowly" — Maeterlinck's beautiful phrase, of those who are content with realities and not seekers after false values and false standards. . . . Your dream was to make Bardoli the perfect example of satyagraha. Bardoli has fulfilled itself in its own fashion interpreting and perfecting your dream.

Young India, 23-8-1928

238. LETTER TO DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to have your letter. Though I could not visit Europe this year, if all goes well, I expect to do so next year, when I have no doubt we shall meet somewhere. Of course if you anticipate your proposed visit[1] to India, we shall meet here no doubt.

Yours sincerely

DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL, DODDINGTON, KENT

From a photostat: S.N. 14366

239. LETTER TO B. DE LIGT

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter enclosing an English translation which you have very kindly made for me of your open letter. I am so busy that I have not had the time to go through the open letter, but I hope to go through the whole of it and let you have my reply as early as I can. I may find it necessary to give you the reply through the pages of *Young India*.[2] If I do, I take it you will not mind it.

Yours sincerely,

B. DE LIGT,[3] ESQ.
ONEX (GENEVA), SWITZERLAND

From a microfilm: S.N. 14386

[1] The addressee in his letter (S.N. 14365) dated July 30, 1928, had written that he might visit India again on a lecture tour upon the "Relation of Men to Animals".

[2] *Vide* "My Attitude towards War", 13-9-1928.

[3] Author of *The Conquest of Violence*

240. *LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 24, 1928

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your letter. I expect a longer one later.

Bardoli victory was indeed a victory for Truth and Non-violence. It has almost restored the shattered faith in non-violence on the political field. Vallabhbhai has never shone so brilliantly as in this campaign.

You say you are enclosing an article on Gopabandhu Das, but I have received nothing on him from you. His death is a terrible loss. There is no one in Orissa to equal him in self-sacrifice and self-effacement.

Gregg did not know that you had left for England and that you were about to leave for America. Gregg himself is leaving for America in November.

We are all keeping well at the Ashram. Devdas is in Jamia Millia. Rasik and Navin are going there to help Devdas. I hope you are giving yourself rest and that you will return as fully restored as is possible for one of your temperament.

I note that you do not want me to collect more for your expense in America. Sarojini Naidu expects to leave for America in September.

With love,

Yours,
MOHAN

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.
C/o AMERICAN EXPRESS CO., 6 HAYMARKET
LONDON

From a photostat: G.N. 2629

241. LETTER TO SIR DANIEL HAMILTON

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I was unprepared to receive your paper so promptly. I have divided it into five chapters,[1] first of which has already appeared. I send you a copy of it herewith.

I lent Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas your papers and asked him to let me have his criticism on them. He sent me a frank letter. With his permission I am sending you a copy of it. For a layman it is difficult to understand these different viewpoints. It has always appeared to me an enigma, why financiers differ as much as lawyers and doctors even as to fundamentals.

You will be glad to learn that the Bardoli struggle has ended satisfactorily.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: 1
SIR DANIEL HAMILTON

From a photostat: S.N. 13238

242. LETTER TO WILLIAM H. DANFORTH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter as also for the parcel of your food products sent through Mr. B. N. Birla. He sent me also a copy of the book you have written on your Indian experience.

As my menu is limited and as I do not eat things of whose composition I have no knowledge, I have not been able to try any of the delicacies you have kindly sent me. But I have distributed your biscuits amongst the Ashram inmates. If it is not a secret, I would like to know how the corn flakes are prepared and whether anything beyond wheat is used in preparing the flakes. Is it not the

[1] *Vide* "'The True Capital and the False'", 23-8-1928.

same thing as the wheat flakes prepared at Dr. Kellogg's Battle Creek Sanatorium?

Yours sincerely,

W. H. DANFORTH[1], ESQ.

From a photostat: S.N. 14384

243. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 25, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letters. You should now recover complete health. If that is at all possible, you ought to make it so. You write *kef*, but the real word is *kaph*. It is an English word and means what we call *galafo*[2]. The word *kaph*, however, has become part of our language and we can freely use it. *Kef* means intoxication, and the word is not taken from English.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 497. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

244. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

August 25, 1928

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

Chi. Navin is to be sent to Jamia Millia to help Devdas. Therefore, release him for that institution. If more time is required for the purpose, we shall think about it when I return there. Chi. Rasik is already free. He, too, has to go to Delhi. It is necessary for both to get trained in carding, etc., so that they may be proficient in these processes.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14762

[1] Of the Ralston Purina Company, Missouri, which manufactured food products

[2] Phlegm; the Gujarati word *kaph* is from Sanskrit.

245. *LIMITS OF SATYAGRAHA*[1]

A correspondent impatient to stop the marriages of aged men with young girls writes:

> This evil requires drastic remedies. Twenty-five young men of character should form themselves into a band of satyagrahis, proceed to the place of the marriage eight or ten days before the event and plead with both the parties, with the heads of the caste organization, and with all concerned. They should parade the streets with suitable placards condemning such marriages and produce an atmosphere of opposition to the proposed marriage. They should persuade the people of the town or village to declare a peaceful boycott against the parties to the marriage, and court arrest or whatever other punishment that comes to them.
>
> Thus the satyagrahi band would soon become a power in the locality, and these marriages would be a thing of the past.

The suggestion looks attractive, but I am afraid it cannot be of use on more than one occasion. Where lust and cupidity join hands the slaughter of the innocents becomes almost impossible to avoid. As soon as lustful old candidates for brides and the greedy parents get scent of the invasion of the satyagrahi band, they will evade the band by performing the wedding secretly, and they will find enough priests and wedding guests to help them in the ceremony. The readers of *Navajivan* may be aware of an incident that happened some time ago. The old man in that case feigned contrition, and successfully threw dust into the eyes of all by a hollow public apology. The reformers were delighted, but before they had finished congratulating themselves the old man managed to get secretly married. What happened in one case may happen in many cases. We should therefore devise other means to grapple with the evil. I have an idea that it may be easier to reach the greedy father of the bride than the slave of his lust. There is a great necessity for cultivating public opinion in the matter. The parents who readily sell away their girls, out of cupidity, should be sought out and pleaded with, and caste organizations should be persuaded to pass resolutions condemning such marriages. Evidently such reforms cannot be carried out all at once by the same band in large areas. Their field must needs be circumscribed. A satyagrahi band in Cape Comorin will not be able to prevent a mon-

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 26-8-1928. This is a translation by Mahadev Desai.

strous marriage in Kashmir. The reformers will have therefore to recognize their limitations. We may not attempt the impossible.

Love and ahimsa are matchless in their effect. But in their play there is no fuss, show, noise or placards. They presuppose self-confidence which in its turn presupposes self-purification. Men of stainless character and self-purification will easily inspire confidence and automatically purify the atmosphere around them. I have long believed that social reform is a tougher business than political reform. The atmosphere is ready for the latter, people are interested in it, and there is an impression abroad that it is possible without self-purification. On the other hand people have little interest in social reform, the result of agitation does not appear to be striking, and there is little room for congratulations and addresses. The social reformers will have therefore to plod on for some time, hold themselves in peace, and be satisfied with apparently small results.

I may here throw out a practical suggestion. The most effective means of creating an atmosphere against the marriages of aged persons with young girls is to create public opinion against the actual marriage and to set in motion a peaceful social boycott against the aged bridegroom and the greedy father of the bride.

If a successful boycott can be carried out even in one single instance, parents will hesitate to sell their daughters and old men will hesitate to run after young brides.

It will not be easy to wean lustful old men from their lust. They may be therefore induced to marry old widows, if they must marry. In Europe old men easily seek out old widows.

In conclusion, we must be clear about our objectives in opposing these marriages. It cannot be our object to wean old men from their lust; if it is we will have first to deal with lustful young men. But that is a tall order. Our objective can be only to save young girls from the clutches of lustful old men and the cupidity of their parents. The reformer must therefore address himself to carrying on a crusade against the sale of brides. It is the bride's parents who have to be reached. Let the satyagrahi therefore chalk out the field of his activities, have a census of all girls of a marriageable age living in that area, let him get into touch with their parents, and awaken them to a sense of their duty towards their daughters.

Let not the reformer go outside these limits if he wants to achieve success. The scheme proposed in the correspondent's letter easily transgresses these limits.

Young India, 6-9-1928

246. MY NOTES

Explosion of Matriculates

A correspondent writes to say:[1]

This question is well worth asking. It has often been answered in this paper. The lure of a Government stamp makes slaves of us. Hence I have suggested that it is our duty to leave Government schools. But who will free the students from this infatuation? How can one secure, without a Government stamp, a job where there are chances of getting a bribe? The student will be unable to free himself from this infatuation so long as he does not willingly accept work involving physical labour and value it more than literary education. This is one of the reasons why the spinning-wheel has been given such importance. It is a widely accepted symbol of manual labour. In the first issue of *Navajivan* a picture was given which contained figures of the spinning-wheel and the plough. As the status of the spinning-wheel improves, physical labour and honourable poverty will automatically find the place that they deserve. This does not imply that everyone should earn a living by means of the spinning-wheel, but it does imply that everyone should do so by means of productive labour. It is the atmosphere of the schools which is responsible for an increase in the students' love of British ways of life and their love of British goods. Only a handful of students remain unaffected by the atmosphere.

Fires Caused by the Primus Stove

The same correspondent writes as follows about the Primus stove:[2]

It is true that the Primus stove has enslaved the minds of Gujarati women. I also believe that this stove is not as necessary as it is generally believed to be. It is undoubtedly true that a Gujarati woman's sari lends grace to her, but it does cause great inconvenience to the working women. It seems to be a fact that the sari is responsible for the accidents through the Primus stove in which Gujarati women have been involved. If I could persuade

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had drawn attention to the increasing number of matriculates in the country and the problem of their employment.

[2] The letter is not translated here.

these women, I would rid them of their fascination for this stove and have them imitate the tucked-up sari worn by the brave women of Bardoli. In my opinion, the sari draped in that manner is no less graceful. It also gives full freedom of movement while working and, looking at the matter more deeply, we see that it affords better protection to women inasmuch as they are more fully clad in this dress. Those who have seen the women of Bardoli at work would testify that they could do no work in the field if they wore the sari with one end of it hanging in front of them.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 26-8-1928

247. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 26, 1928

MY DEAR PRAKASAM,

I have your letter[1]. If you can get Justice Venkatasubba Rao to be the sole arbitrator in the matter between you and the All-India Spinners' Association, it will be quite good. You may therefore please try to get his consent and let me know the result.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. PRAKASAM
"SWARAJYA", MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 13672

248. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 26, 1928

Keshu is anxious to make up his English as early as possible. He knows a fair amount. My idea is that if he can be kept with the Bjerrums, he should do well. Will you please advise? If you think

[1] Dated August 14, 1928, which read: "I suggest the name of Mr. Justice Venkatasubba Rao of the Madras High Court to arbitrate in the matter in his personal capacity . . . " (S.N. 13657). *Vide* also "Letter to T. Prakasam", 20-7-1928.

that my suggestion is good, you may see the Bjerrums yourself. Or, if anything or something else or some other place than Bangalore is better, please let me know.

Do tell me how you and Shankerlal are getting on. You must both get well.

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
C/o KHADI VASTRALAYA, FORT, BANGALORE CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 13496

249. LETTER TO JETHALAL JOSHI

Second Shravan Sud 11 [August 26, 1928][1]

BHAISHRI JETHALAL,

I got your letter.

What you say about children is true.

Your suggestion regarding malaria is worth considering.

Concerning the calf, the issue was not only about non-violence. According to my definition of non-violence, there was certainly no violence in killing it. The question was whether or not it was a duty to kill it. I felt that it was.

You can get slivers for a few days, but you should learn quickly [to make them yourselves].

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1346

250. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

August 27, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have your letters. You would naturally get all the news about Balubhai, and so I write nothing. If we remember and cultivate in ourselves the virtues of our good relations, they though dead live on and society progresses continuously. Ordinarily we see the opposite of this happening. That is so because of our lethargy. We believe that by selfishly mourning

[1] The year is determined from the reference to the mercy-killing of a calf at the Ashram.

over a death we have done our duty and thus deceive ourselves. If we look upon death in the manner I have indicated, we would never mourn it but turn it into a means of self-purification.

Ramdas returned to Bardoli yesterday. He now wants to settle down there and join in constructive work. After he has settled down he will ask Nimu[1] to join him. Navin[2] and Rasik will go to Delhi in a few days to help Devdas there.

We are all right, all of us.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4743

251. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

Silence Day [August 27, 1928][3]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. Pay up the bills of the doctor and the hakim. You should know from time to time the amounts as they *become due*. If your health does not improve there at all, it would be better for you to come away here. Tell Vidyavatiji that, rather than stay there and be a burden on her, you had better return to the Ashram. After your health has completely recovered, you may return there if necessary. Or, they may send a student from there who will learn the work in the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9251

[1] Wife of Ramdas Gandhi
[2] A pupil in the Ashram school
[3] From the postmark

252. LETTER TO PERIN CAPTAIN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1928

DEAR SISTER,[1]

I have your letter. I propose to write about your letters in the next issue of *Young India*.[2]

Narandas must already have sent you the list of the stuff at the Ashram.

Mahadev has been reminded about Rs. 45-13-6. Subbiah will write to you about it. I have not written to Mithuben yet, but I will soon, as also to Fulchand about Rs. 37-4-0. I shall speak to Kakasaheb about the embroidery thread.

If there is any khadi exhibition at Calcutta, you will certainly know in due time.

This exhausts your list. Don't you come again only for two days.

SHRIMATI PERIN CAPTAIN
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 13501

253. LETTER TO EMMA HARKER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your letter. You can come and see the Ashram for yourself. But I know that the Ashram life will not suit you in any shape or form. It is really too simple and too hard for one brought up like you. It is hard even for those who have been for a long time here. And it is a life of continuous body labour.

Yours sincerely,

EMMA HARKER
2 BELGRADE TERRACE, KARACHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13502

[1] The source has this in Gujarati, *Vahalan Behn*

[2] *Vide* "Notes", 13-9-1928, sub-title, "Rashtriya Stri Sabha and Khadi".

254. LETTER TO N. C. BARDALOI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I referred your letter[1] to the A.I.S.A. Office and here is the statement[2] prepared by the Office. I do not wish to judge. But I want you to see the correct position for yourself. There should be no laxity in the handling of public funds. And resentment of discipline, I hold to be a grave fault with us. Without discipline, Bardoli would have been a perfect fiasco. There were over 100 workers under Vallabhbhai and they all acted as one man. I am not aware of a misunderstanding having ever arisen. There were over 1,000 workers at the time of flood relief last year. It was the same thing then as in Bardoli.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. C. BARDALOI
SANTI BHAVAN, GAUHATI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13673

255. LETTER TO VARADACHARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1928

MY DEAR VARADACHARI,

The enclosed letter and my reply will speak for themselves. Subbiah fortifies the complaint made by the correspondent and says that the Tamil Nad Khadi Depot gives no encouragement whatsoever to voluntary spinners. This should not be.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: 1

From a microfilm: S.N. 13674

[1] Dated June 23, 1928 (S.N. 13628)

[2] Giving year-wise the quantity of khadi produced in India from 1925 to 1928

256. *LETTER TO R. DORAISWAMY*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I must draw your attention to the fact that my definition of a "spinner" applies to voluntary spinners, not to paid spinners. I know from experience that not much time has to be given to doing one's own carding and that those who do spinning for the love of it should generally be able to find time for doing their own carding a small quantity. I have done it myself, though in order to save every minute of my time I have given it up, because there are so many to supply me with slivers. But for the sake of accuracy, I propose to do my own carding, even though I am now supposed to be in a very weak state of health, and publish the result in *Young India*. You should certainly be supplied with spindles from the Tamil Nad Branch as also from the Satyagraha Ashram or Bardoli. There is however a great difficulty in having an unlimited supply of true spindles, because straightening taxes the eyes of workers, so much so that one man who used to straighten up 60 spindles per day very nearly lost his eyes. At the Ashram and at Bardoli, therefore, not much encouragement is given to those who want true spindles. Straightening can be learnt by application. Once a person learns it, he can straighten his own spindle in a very short time and straightening once in a way does not tax the eye at all. Attempts were being made by the Association to get a piece of machinery whereby true spindles can be turned out. But in spite of all effort, up to now such a machine has not been found. I am however forwarding your letter to the Tamil Nad Branch in order that whatever is possible might be done in order to help voluntary spinners.

R. DORAISWAMY
KHADI AGENT, KUMBAKONAM

From a microfilm: S.N. 13675

257. LETTER TO B. G. HORNIMAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

To get an article from me is like drawing a live tooth. I can only therefore send you a message, and here it is!

The way to constitutional swaraj may lie through Lucknow, the way to organic swaraj, which is synonymous with *Ramarajya* lies through Bardoli.

Yours sincerely,

B. G. HORNIMAN, ESQ.
"THE INDIAN NATIONAL HERALD"
POST BOX NO. 800, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13497

258. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I don't need to say anything about the Puja Exhibition. You will manage things there as may seem best to you.

I hope the change you have made at Sodepur about food is not too drastic for the men. Let there be no unnecessary haste. What is possible with difficulty in Gujarat may be almost impossible in Bengal.

The little water-works you installed here is working fairly satisfactorily. But the water is soon exhausted. I wonder if the tanks are to be kept open. And should they not be cleaned from time to time? And if they should, is it not a somewhat laborious process? Have you any instructions?

It gives me joy to find that you are getting on so well with Mr. Birla. It must mean a great load off your brain so far as the finances are concerned.

Yes, if you can devise a charkha that will give a greater yield, it would certainly be a gain.

How is Hemprabha Devi keeping?

From a photostat: S.N. 13498

259. LETTER TO K. S. KARANTH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The question seems to me to be easy of solution. It is the Brahminical life that is referred to. Brahman there does not refer to a division, but it refers to a state in the same person. Brahman is one who knows God, and it is possible for a Shudra to develop self-realization. He has then reached the Brahminical stage, and the man born in a Brahmin family may be able to do nothing if he has no knowledge of God.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. S. KARANTH
VASANTA, P.O. KODAIBAIL, MANGALORE

From a photostat: S.N. 13499

260. LETTER TO ROHINI POOVIAH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1928

MY DEAR ROHINI,

I was delighted to receive your note. I am glad you are now fixed up. I hope that you won't have to leave that place.

The common kitchen is going on merrily though we have still tough problems to solve from day to day. We have nearly 160 diners together. It is something to conduct such a big kitchen without paid labour.

As you must have seen I have not gone to Lucknow, nor am I likely to pass through Allahabad in the near future.

Do write to me from time to time.

Yours sincerely,

SHRIMATI ROHINI POOVIAH
LADY PRINCIPAL, CROSTHWAITE GIRLS' COLLEGE, ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 13500

261. EUROPE-GOERS BEWARE

Now that so many people have begun to go to Europe and the interest in India and Indians has since the days of Non-co-operation grown, there is a growing demand on their time on the part of European public bodies and political parties. Not one of us was however prepared for what befell Babu Rajendra Prasad. Rajendra Babu went to London some months ago to fulfil an important legal engagement. Having finished his case he did a bit of travelling on the Continent and among other things attended the War Resisters' Conference in Vienna. Prompted by a stranger, he accepted another engagement in the neighbourhood. There was some days ago in *The Bombay Chronicle* a cable to the effect that a meeting at which Babu Rajendra Prasad was speaking on peace was broken up by Fascists and that he was seriously assaulted. In the absence of any cable from Rajendra Babu, I refused to believe in the assault. The same day that I saw the Press cable, I had a cable from Rajendra Babu asking for a message[1] for the Youth Conference in Holland. This removed all suspicion about the assault; but by the last mail I received a letter from Austrian friends, a professor and his wife, containing a graphic description and confirmation of the assault reported in the Press. I reproduce below the relevant portion of the letter which moreover contains a warning important for all who visit the Continent:

> Though very rejoiced at your letter of introduction of Mr. Rajendra Prasad I was terrified by a postscript of one—whose name we had never heard before at the backside of your letter. In your kind letter there was no word about any meeting, but at the back, this Mr. . . .[2] wrote: "Comrade Raj. Pr. will speak at the Steinfelder Sale, and requests you to meet him there." I was very much astonished and terrified. For, in the "Steinfelder Sale", which is a beerhouse, there was on the same day a meeting of 'International Women's League for Peace and Freedom'. I did not know this League. This letter came into our hands at 9 in the morning of the 1st August, and we tried the whole forenoon to find out whether this meeting guaranteed security, but we could not find in any directory or telephone-book any address or name of the members of this League. So we went to the station to fetch brother Prasad, to take him with us to our home. Mr. Prasad did not know the circumstances of this

[1] *Vide* "Cable to Rajendra Prasad", On or after 16-8-1928.

[2] Omissions as in the source

meeting and did not know enough of this Mr. . . . He agreed with this Mr. . . . to speak at the meeting in which were concentrated from the surroundings and the town the followers of war and violence in order to disturb this women's meeting. Not knowing anything, . . . and myself went there with Mr. Prasad to satisfy his obligation. Mr. . . . was not at the meeting, no one was there of the Women's Committee, the hall was full of smoke, the tables full of beerglasses, men were yelling—there was no one of that Committee though it was already quarter of an hour later. Going to the Women's Committee table, we were suddenly attacked even before the beginning of the meeting, and though guarding him with our own bodies, we could not prevent brother Prasad from being injured. After our injuries we came to know: (1) that he was taken to be one . . . , the name of whom we had never heard, who had to speak at this meeting; (2) that Mr. . . . was an anarchist and editor of an anarchistical newspaper! We are very sorry at all this. Not only because of our wounds—fortunately my double-quilted khaddar-hat and my hair-knot caught up many of the blows with wooden lathis and chairs and glasses, nevertheless, brother Prasad was slightly hurt on the head, on the forehead and upon one hand, and . . . was injured with a chair-leg on the cheek under one eye. This small wound of . . . and a small wound on the forehead of Mr. Prasad could be dangerous for the eyes, perhaps also a stab with a knife which I caught up with my hand and which was soon healed. I do not know whence I had the strength to hold up so many blows in order to make a way out through perhaps a thousand men beating us three, and insulting me because I was protecting the men, I had only one hand to hold up the blows, with the other hand I held Mr. Prasad whom . . . and myself had between us, . . . trying to save his Gandhi cap which was finally lost. Our hands and feet were covered with blue spots, and for two days I had a slight commotion in the brain. All were crying: "Slay him down," . . . it was dreadful . . . . We have kept the good brother in our home and dressed his wounds. On the next day he felt well, and we travelled with him by railway one hour before leaving him. The next day we received a letter from him reporting that he was feeling well, and that the doctor had examined his small wounds and fortunately found these all right. Today he is staying at Monsieur Romain Rolland's in Villeneuve, to whom I have written an explaining letter. Now I beg you to say to all Indian brothers, who are starting for Europe or staying there, not to be implicated in any strange movement. Your principles of non-violence, etc., are torn from their setting and misused by political parties. The Indian brothers are too good and too credulous; for instance we have heard: when one European says to an Indian brother, that he (the European) is a vegetarian, the Indian brother in his good-

> ness believes that this European is a follower of your principles in the whole, but such a European can be also an anarchist, etc. I entreat you to warn the Indian brothers against having intercourse with strange people.

These friends deserve the warmest thanks of the relatives and the numerous friends of Rajendra Babu for their bravely defending his person at peril to their own lives. The incident shows the essential identity of human nature and it shows that gentleness, self-sacrifice and generosity are the exclusive possession of no one race or religion.

But it is the warning contained in the letter which is much the most important part of it. There is no doubt that there is a desire on the part of all sorts of Continental parties to exploit for their own purposes Indian visitors, especially if they happen to hold a position in the public life of India. It is therefore a good thing to bear in mind the Shakespearian warning: "Give thine ear to everyone, thy voice to none." There must be on the part of Indian visitors an estimable desire to advertise the Indian cause by speaking to European audiences. It is as well however to know that exemplary self-restraint in everything will advertise the Indian cause much better than any amount of public speaking. Character is any day more eloquent than speech.

Young India, 30-8-1928

262. NOTES

Wanted a Publicity Department for Khadi

A correspondent writes to Sjt. Vithaldas Jerajani of the All-India Spinners' Association, Khadi Bhandar, Bombay:

> I am thankful for the parcel along with your Bill No. 307 dated 27-7-1928. It has given me full satisfaction and the clothes are admired by friends. I feel that the message of khadi has reached only a small fraction of the people, and that in the matter of publicity, the movement lags behind even ordinary firms. Those who would like to purchase khadi have got nothing for guidance as there is a very small number of shops in a province and that too does very little work in the way of publicity. I am sure money will not be wasted if you were to enlarge and illustrate your price list. The creation of a publicity department for khadi will not be a superfluous thing. If and when you approve of this idea and action is taken thereon, I shall be glad to remit an

amount of Rs. 100 as a contribution towards the fund required for the purpose.

There is much truth in the correspondent's charge. The All-India Spinners' Association has concerned itself more with perfecting the internal organization than with external effort such as advertisement, feeling that perfection of the internal organization will be its own advertisement. The Association has therefore been chary of spending money on publicity work. But, if sufficient response is made by khadi lovers towards the expense of publicity work, I have no doubt that the Council will gladly take it up. Let it however be known that publicity work to be thorough is a costly affair. Generally, the cost of publicity is included in the price of the material advertised. The All-India Spinners' Association has been averse thus to increasing the price of khadi. It is therefore necessary that if the publicity work is to be organized, the cost should come from those who appreciate the virtue of khadi and have the means of defraying it. If therefore there are others like the correspondent who will shoulder the burden of the publicity department, let them send me their contributions earmarked for the purpose. If sufficient response is not made and if the donors so desire, the donations will be refunded.

The Spinning-wheel in Mysore State

Sjt. Pujari of the All-India Spinners' Association who is assisting the Mysore State authorities in organizing hand-spinning in that State sends me a letter from which I extract the following information:

> The work was started on the 1st of November 1927. The movement has gained stability. At the end of July last, 1,000 wheels were at work in 60 villages, supplying 52 looms; and the production for July amounted to Rs. 2,000.

Sjt. Pujari says:

> I can assert from my experience of nine months
>
> 1. that a subsidiary cottage industry in these parts is a felt want;
> 2. that the tiny wheels supply that want as nothing else can;
> 3. that it has been possible to do this thing because of State encouragement and because the spinners and weavers are assured of a steady demand for their yarn and khaddar;
> 4. that given similar conditions in other parts of India, the same results should be obtained;

5. that hand-spinning keeps the village revenue in constant circulation flowing from the *raiyats'* cottages to the State and from the State to the *raiyats*;

6. that it is the best method of utilizing the free energy of the vast agricultural population which is now running to waste in the 6,85,000 villages of India;

7. and lastly, that hand-spinning adds to the daily earnings of the villager three pies per hour that he spends at the wheel, a by no means negligible addition to the earnings of a population whose income per head is estimated at not more than 0-1-7 per day.

Sjt. Pujari adds:

> What a blessing it would be if other States of India were to copy the noble example of the Mysore State.

I echo the wish.

Torture of Bullocks

An English lady writes:

> I am much distressed and perplexed by the habitual torture of bullocks by the inhabitants of this country, chiefly Hindus, who call themselves protectors of the cow! The sight of the dislocated, mutilated tail joints of the overburdened creatures toiling along roads is one never to be forgotten by a visitor to this country. The way the hands of the drivers, made filthy by cruelty, grasp and twitch the very backbone of the shrinking creatures at the tail socket, when the tail itself is a broken twisted abomination, is a sight which brings shame on the Hindu religion. Can you do nothing through your paper *Young India* on behalf of these creatures, as also on behalf of the tormented fowls carried by the legs head down for miles to their destruction? I enclose a picture of English oxen at work. The Indian has adopted the motor-car for himself, why not the harness for his bullocks?

Whilst it is true that this fair visitor to India has indulged in a hasty generalization by accusing the inhabitants of India of habitual torture of bullocks—for it is not every inhabitant, not even every tenth man who ill uses bullocks—there is no doubt that some drivers in the cities are guilty of the practice referred to in the letter, and there is no doubt also that the passer-by goes his way totally oblivious of the torture and there is truth too in the statement about the inhuman carrying of fowls. It is possible to say of us who talk about ahimsa that we strain at a gnat and easily swallow a camel. We would be agitated if a rabid dog was shot, but we are indifferent, if not willing witnesses

to the cruelties such as are mentioned in the letter I have reproduced. We seem to think that we have fully carried out the doctrine of ahimsa so long as we do not actually kill. In my opinion, this is a travesty of ahimsa. Every act of injury to a living creature and every endorsement of such act by refraining from non-violent effort wherever possible to prevent it is a breach of ahimsa. Here there is work for religious organizations that would be faithful to their convictions to conduct a crusade against cruelties to lower animals practised in the cities. The change from the yoke to the harness is undoubtedly desirable.

A Khaddar-clad High School

Dr. P. B. Datta of Chittagong sends the following interesting report[1] of a High School in which all boys and teachers have been using khaddar for the last four years.

Berar in 1897

Major R. V. Garrett writing in 1897 in his monograph on cotton fabrics in the Hyderabad Assigned Districts says:

> Berar is famous for its cotton, but certainly not for its cotton fabrics, which are limited for the most part to common cloths of rough and inferior quality, and used by the poorer classes only. (p. 1)
>
> Spinning is carried on all over the provinces and is not confined to any particular castes or localities. (p. 1)
>
> One woman cannot spin more than 1 lb. of country yarn a week, the value of which is eight annas; about half this sum represents the intrinsic value of a week's spinning. The work is, however, undertaken as affording domestic employment for the women during their leisure hours at home. (p. 2.)

What was true of Berar in 1897 is still more true now. For the infatuation for the sale of raw cotton grown in Berar is so great that the women have left the spinning-wheel and there is not much hand-spun yarn woven in Berar. Indeed if Berar could be made truly industrial, not a pound of cotton need leave Berar except in the finished state of khadi manufactured in the cottages of the villagers without in any way interfering with their other occupations.

[1] Not reproduced here; it gave an account of the complete adoption of khaddar by Durgapur High School, Chittagong, and its wholesome influence on surrounding villages. The report also narrated the agricultural activities of the school and its plans to have a goshala and a workshop.

CO-OPERATIVE KHADI-PURCHASE

G. V. R. writes from Nagpur:[1]

AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Mr. Diwan A. Mehta brought a collection (Rs. 270) made from among the Indian passengers on board s.s. *Pilsna* to be handed to me on the condition that if the Bardoli struggle was over the money should be utilized for some social work of my choice. I have earmarked the donation for untouchability work, and I thankfully make this acknowledgment here as it could not very well appear in the Bardoli fund collection list that is printed from week to week as supplement to *Young India*.

Young India, 30-8-1928

263. *TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU*[2]

[*August 31, 1928*]

WIRE RECEIVED. GOD BE THANKED. MAY YOU BE BLESSED TO CARRY THIS BRILLIANT SUCCESS TO FINAL STAGE OF ACHIEVING OUR GOAL.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13678

264. *LETTER TO HARDAYAL NAG*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 31, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letters. It is pressure of work that has prevented me from writing to you earlier.

[1] The letter is not reproduced here; the correspondent had written about the formation of co-operative khadi-purchase clubs by the railwaymen, and their advantages.

[2] In reply to his telegram dated August 31, 1928, which read: "Hearty congratulations. Complete success. All recommendations adopted. Hindu-Muslim differences about representation settled. Punjab problem solved. Hindus Muslims agreed about Sind. Temper of parties excellent. Returning Allahabad tomorrow. Proceeding Simla third."

I realize the importance of your suggestion. But I am quite certain that Vallabhbhai would have been a square man in a round box, if he had been elected President of the Congress. And events are proving that Pandit Motilalji is the wisest choice.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. HARDAYAL NAG
CHANDPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 13503

265. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 31, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. I have already written[1] to you concerning the fees of the doctor and the hakim. I have also told you to come over here if you do not feel comfortable there. If, however, you can conveniently go to Mussoorie and if you feel very much better there, why should you not go and get fine health? After that, if you find it difficult to stay on in Dehradun, you may come away here. This is only a suggestion I am making. If, however, you are no more interested in staying on there and are not in a condition to work, you should return here immediately. You should not think it necessary to ask me again for my permission about this. I suppose it is not necessary for me to write anything to Vidyavati. Whatever happens, you should never get nervous, nor should you, out of false shame, agree to do anything beyond your capacity. If we act with humility and undertake only what is within our capacity, then only will our work shine and bring fruit. This is the meaning of *shreyan swadharmo vigunah*[2].

I got your letter after I had finished dictating so far. Now that you have decided to leave that place, there is no need to change your plan. But there is no harm, either, in going to Mussoorie, if you can and if you wish to. Since you wish to stay for a day in Delhi, you may go and see Devdas if you feel inclined. He is in Jamia Millia, which is in Karol Bagh. Jamia Millia is a Vidyapith of our Muslim friends. Navin and Rasik will leave

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Vasumati Pandit", 27-8-1928.
[2] *Bhagavad Gita*, XVIII. 47

[for Delhi] on Sunday to help Devdas there. They will reach there on Monday.

I have not revised this letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 499. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

266. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

[After *August 31, 1928*][1]

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I get your letters regularly. I try to write every fortnight, but maybe occasionally I miss a week.

You will remember Sastriji more after he has left. You will not get any other person as straightforward as he to serve as Agent there. I go over possible names again and again but none appeals to me. If we start looking for weaknesses, shall we find anyone free from them? Hinduism has ascribed shortcomings even to Siva. Tulsidas says however:

> Everything in the world, animate and inanimate, has its virtues and defects;
>
> The saints who are like the swan, accept the good that is milk and ignore the evil that is water.

Devdas is in Delhi, and now Navin and Rasik have gone to help him. Both are doing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4730

[1] From the reference in the last paragraph to Navin and Rasik going to Delhi; *vide* the preceding item.

267. LETTER TO JUGALKISHORE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 1, 1928

MY DEAR JUGALKISHORE[1],

I have your letter. It is a most difficult thing to suit you. We have not yet been able to produce the type of teacher you want. Those who have received education are not eager to learn spinning and weaving. The few who have given themselves that training are so engaged that it is difficult to remove them. If you have any person in mind, please tell me. All the same, I shall bear what you have said in mind and if I can come upon the teacher you want, I shall let you know.

I take it that you are flourishing there. When you next come to the Ashram, you will find it somewhat transformed. We have now practically only one huge kitchen, where over 150 men, women, children take their meals.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

[PS.]

Upon inquiry I find that one name has been already sent to you through Jamnalalji.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13679

268. LETTER TO B. W. TUCKER[2]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 1, 1928

MY DEAR BOYD,

Your letter has been on my file for some days.

I think you have stated my position fairly correctly except that the way in which you have put it may cause a misunderstanding. I did not say that I would not desire that others should

[1] Principal of Prem Mahavidyalaya, Vrindavan

[2] In reply to his letter (S.N. 13491) of August 15, 1928, which read: "There is one question that was raised at the Council of the International Fellowship held at Sabarmati last January, about which I would appreciate

accept my viewpoint. But I did say that I would not desire that others should accept my religion. Evidently you have used the word viewpoint as synonymous with religion. I do not. Whilst I would not press my religion upon others, I would press my viewpoint upon others, as every one of us must. Religion is a matter of feeling or the heart and, therefore, not a matter for argument, and I would hold everybody's feeling as dear as my own, because I expect him to do so with reference to my feeling. Viewpoint is a matter of reasoning, the mind, the intellect. It may shift from time to time without touching the heart. Change of religion is a change of status. Change of viewpoint is an accident often due to external causes. My feeling about the existence of God cannot be easily altered. My viewpoint regarding the connotation of the term may vary from time to time and expand with the expansion of my reason. Religion is beyond explanation and it seems to me to be impertinent for anyone to touch another's religion. A viewpoint must always be capable of explanation. I have entered upon this distinction because it enables me to explain my position about religion more clearly than by any other means. I do not want you to become a Hindu. But I do want you to become a better Christian by assimilating all that may be good in Hinduism and that you may not find in same measure or at all in the Christian teaching. I can't explain why I delight in calling myself and remaining a Hindu, but my remaining does not prevent me from assimilating all that is good and noble in Christianity, Islam and other faiths of the world.

I wonder if I have explained my position to your satisfaction. If not please ask.

All you say about Bardoli is quite true.

Yours sincerely,

REV. B. W. TUCKER
PRINCIPAL, COLLINS HIGH SCHOOL
140 DHARMTALA, STREET, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13505

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some further explanation from you. It is in regard to your statement that people belonging to a certain religious group or holding certain religious views, ought not to even remotely desire that others should accept their viewpoint. I may not have quoted you correctly; as I remember it, your statement may have been even stranger than that. . . ." For a report of Gandhiji's talk at the Council, *vide* Vol. XXXV, pp. 461-4.

269. AHIMSA IN EDUCATION[1]

For some time past Gandhiji has been following the practice of giving weekly talks to the students of the Gujarat Vidyapith. He used on these occasions to invite questions from students and teachers which he would answer. Before their interrogatories could be exhausted, however, he had to take up the reading of *Hind Swaraj* with them at their request. But as some of the questions received by him are of general interest he proposes to deal with them in the pages of *Navajivan*. The substance of one is given below.

—MAHADEV DESAI

One of the questions put to me was as follows:

> The moment one begins to talk of ahimsa, a series of trifling questions are mooted, e.g., whether it is permissible to kill dogs, tigers and wolves, snakes, lice, etc., and whether one may eat brinjals or potatoes or else the questioner engages in a disputation over the question of maintaining an army or of offering armed resistance. Nobody seems to trouble to inquire how the principle of ahimsa should be worked out as part of education. Will you kindly shed some light on this question?

This is not a new problem. It has been discussed threadbare in these columns off and on in one shape or another. But I know that I have not succeeded in making it absolutely clear to my readers. The task, I am afraid, is beyond my capacity. But I should be thankful if I could succeed in contributing somewhat to its solution.

The introductory part of the question shows that questions betraying a narrow outlook are often put. By unnecessarily exercising ourselves over conundrums about the justifiability of man's killing creatures and animals of a lower order, we often seem to forget our primary duties. Every one of us is not faced every day with the question of killing obnoxious animals. Most of us have not developed courage and love enough to practise ahimsa with regard to dangerous reptiles. We do not destroy the vipers of ill-will and anger in our own bosom, but we dare to raise futile discussions about the propriety of killing obnoxious creatures and we thus move in a vicious circle. We fail in the primary duty and lay the unction to our souls that we are refraining from killing obnoxious life. One who desires to practise ahimsa must for the time being forget all about snakes, etc. Let him not worry if he cannot avoid killing them, but try for all he is worth to overcome the

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 2-9-1928.

anger and ill-will of men by his patient endeavour as a first step toward cultivating universal love.

Abjure brinjals or potatoes by all means, if you will, but do not for heaven's sake begin to feel yourself self-righteous or flatter yourself that you are practising ahimsa on that account. The very idea is enough to make one blush. Ahimsa is not a mere matter of dietetics, it transcends it. What a man eats or drinks matters little; it is the self-denial, the self-restraint behind it that matters. By all means practise as much restraint in the choice of the articles of your diet as you like. The restraint is commendable, even necessary, but it touches only the fringe of ahimsa. A man may allow himself a wide latitude in the matter of diet and yet may be a personification of ahimsa and compel our homage, if his heart overflows with love and melts at another's woe, and has been purged of all passions. On the other hand a man always overscrupulous in diet is an utter stranger to ahimsa and a pitiful wretch, if he is a slave to selfishness and passions and is hard of heart.

Whether India should have an army or not, whether or not one may offer armed resistance to Government, these are momentous questions that we shall have to solve one day. The Congress has in its creed already furnished an answer to them in part. But important as these questions are, they do not much concern the man in the street, they do not touch the aspect of ahimsa with which an educationist or a student is concerned. Ahimsa in relation to the life of a student stands quite apart from these questions of high politics. Ahimsa in education must have an obvious bearing of the mutual relations of the students. Where the whole atmosphere is redolent with the pure fragrance of ahimsa, boys and girls studying together will live like brothers and sisters, in freedom and yet in self-imposed restraints; the students will be bound to the teachers in ties of filial love, mutual respect and mutual trust. This pure atmosphere will of itself be a continual object-lesson in ahimsa. The students brought up in such an atmosphere will always distinguish themselves by their charity and breadth of view, and a special talent for service. Social evils will cease to present any difficulty to them, the very intensity of their love being enough to burn out those evils. For instance, the very idea of child-marriage will appear repugnant to them. They will not even think of penalizing the parents of brides by demanding dowries from them. And how dare they after marriages regard their wives as chattel or simply a means of gratifying their lust? How will a young man brought up in such an environment of ahimsa

ever think of fighting a brother of his own or a different faith? At any rate no one will think of calling himself a votary of ahimsa and do all or any of these things.

To sum up: Ahimsa is a weapon of matchless potency. It is the *summum bonum* of life. It is an attribute of the brave, in fact it is their all. It does not come within reach of the coward. It is no wooden or lifeless dogma, but a living and a life-giving force. It is the special attribute of the soul. That is why it has been described as the highest dharma (law). In the hands of the educationist therefore it ought to take the form of the purest love ever fresh, an ever gushing spring of life expressing itself in every act. Ill-will cannot stand in its presence. The sun of ahimsa carries all the hosts of darkness such as hatred, anger and malice before himself. Ahimsa in education shines clear and far and can no more be hidden, even as the sun cannot be hidden by any means. One may be sure that when the Vidyapith is filled with the atmosphere of this ahimsa, its students will no more be troubled by puzzling conundrums.

Young India, 6-9-1928

270. MY NOTES

Price of a Bridegroom

A correspondent writes as follows about the cruel hardship of finding a husband:[1]

It is indeed an evil custom for the father to sell his daughter, but the very limit of depravity is reached when the bridegroom accepts money from the bride's father as a price for the favour of marrying her. The father of a daughter should vow not to pay this penalty, the daughter should be permitted to grow up and a grown-up girl should not even look at a mercenary young man. Marriage is not one's supreme duty in life. Marriages which have been contracted with a mercenary motive are not marriages but base deals. Young men in this age should shun such deals. They should realize that enjoying the good things of life or receiving education by fleecing the father-in-law is a sin.

Tyranny of Sadhus

One of the questions asked by the correspondent is as follows:[2]

[1] & [2] The letter is not translated here.

Those who tyrannize people in this way do not deserve to be called sadhus. In this country where people are deceived by garments, those who wear the saffron robe or wear only a *langoti* are worshipped as sadhus. No one can become a sadhu by virtue of his dress alone. Thousands of persons who are the very opposite of sadhus dress themselves like sadhus and roam around this country. Villagers need not be afraid of persons who pose as sadhus or have been proved to be the very opposite. They should know how to recognize genuine sadhus and rid themselves of the fear of the wicked. They should cultivate the strength to oppose them. It is necessary for educated persons to go into the villages in order to rid them of the two enemies of fear and superstition. Sardar Vallabhbhai has pointed out to the whole of India the royal road for entering the villages. A good many such activities will now be carried on as in Bardoli as part of the constructive programme and the people will be taught new object-lessons.

In What Does Dharma Consist?

The following is the last question[1] asked by this correspondent:

I have known from childhood the aversion of the Jains to eating tubers and bulbs. However, I have been unable to understand why they are forbidden by religion. One can understand the idea that there is a larger number of living creatures clinging to such roots, but I do not see non-violence in making such subtle distinctions. The Jain who, although he has never eaten potatoes, etc., deceives people every day, is far more guilty of violence than the honest business man who eats potatoes regularly. The violence committed by the latter proceeds from his intellectual attitude and does not touch his heart whereas he who deceives others kills his own soul. Self-control as such is good. It is commendable for mankind, steeped in violence though it is, to practise some non-violence in its eating habits. It is proper that we should deliberately cultivate compassion even for plant-life. It is necessary to give up pampering the palate in order to acquire control over one's senses. Though admitting all this, though I am accustomed to a life of self-denial and though I have happy and close associations with Jains, my heart positively refuses to see any great religious merit in avoiding the use of potatoes, etc. Not eating them seems to have no connection at all with

[1] Not translated here. The correspondent had asked Gandhiji to comment on the belief prevalent among Jains that it was sinful to eat potatoes, onions, etc.

one's character. I feel that our ancestors must have started making subtle distinctions between what should be eaten and what should not be eaten at a time when the religious spirit was at a low ebb. Those who wish to give up potatoes, etc., in deference to common practice may do so. But such practice cannot be made the basis of one's religion and the matter should not become a subject of dispute between a husband and wife.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-9-1928

271. RURAL EDUCATION SCHEME

Following the announcement of Shri Nagindas's gift of rupees one lakh, he has been receiving letters concerning the gift and making suggestions. He has passed these on to me, and I, in turn, have handed them over to Kakasaheb Kalelkar. The reader will find published in this issue that part of Kakasaheb's letter to Shri Nagindas which deals with the scheme itself and explains it, so that Gujaratis may not remain in the dark about how and in what manner that gift is going to be utilized. From this the reader will see that the scheme is divided into three parts.

1. In the first place, it consists in training some students to become teachers or workers who will be able to serve the people, or rather, educate them. It is obvious that such service, if it is to benefit the people, should necessarily be rural service.

2. Secondly, establishment through these teachers of rural schools, which would be mobile in the first instance and become permanent later on.

3. Thirdly, preparing suitable literature and getting it prepared by others.

Readers will see that the scope of this scheme is both ambitious and large. Shri Nagindas's philanthropy will have borne fruit if it is implemented.

This task cannot be accomplished in a hurry. The scheme seeks to break new ground. Till now education has served the needs of city-life, if it has served any purpose at all. I deliberately say "if it has served any purpose at all". I fear, or rather I hold, that since education so far has not been of a national character, it is found not to have served even the needs of city-life. It was planned to support foreign rule, and that is what we find it has done. This character of our education has resulted in

preparing a bureaucratic class of servants and copy-writing clerks. The scheme described above has to make its way through this atmosphere. Hence its implementation will necessarily take some time.

Kakasaheb has estimated that its implementation will take ten years and that is not too long a time. It may conceivably happen that during this period, the public comes to be fired with widespread enthusiasm similar to that of 1921 which would also be of a permanent nature, and the required number of students and persons fit to impart education are immediately available. If that happens, we may safely hope that the task will be completed within a shorter period. The programme should be framed in conformity with present circumstances. Kakasaheb is determined not to take up anything in haste without due deliberation. He wishes to proceed gradually but on a sure foundation, as an educationist should do.

Not only is Shri Nagindas's gift large in itself, but I also find from his letter that he has handed over all his savings to be used for educational purposes. This increases further the value of his contribution and adds to my responsibility as well as Kakasaheb's. Both of us were already conscious of it. We indeed expect to get a great deal for the nation from the Vidyapith. However, after having learnt of the history of Shri Nagindas's gift, we are all the more anxious to put it to the best possible use. We certainly pray for God's help in doing so. We expect help from the people of Gujarat as well. If this Vidyapith succeeds as expected, that would naturally have an effect on other Vidyapiths and on the whole country. I do not imply by this that other national Vidyapiths aim at anything less, but it does certainly imply that they have not had the same resources which the Gujarat Vidyapith has enjoyed, and hence the public has a right to expect greater results from the latter.

Those who are interested in national education and approve of the aims of the scheme described above may rest assured that due attention will be given to any suggestions which they address to the head of the Gujarat Vidyapith at Ahmedabad. I would request everyone to refrain from troubling Shri Nagindas. The reader will see that he has retained no control over the manner in which his gift may be spent.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 2-9-1928

272. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

September 2, 1928

The plague at Panchagani is a shame on our humanity. By the way we live, a place of excellent climate and water has been made dirty. And we lack too the ability and the spirit to rid it of the plague.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 94

273. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

September 2, 1928

CHI. BRAJKISAN,

I did get your letters but there is hardly any time for letter-writing although I get up at three o'clock these days.

We may eat anywhere but we must not break our rules; we may eat what is permissible for us when we go to a friend's place, so as not to put him to trouble. At least rice or chapati is always there. We can eat it with salt and be thankful to the friend.

I shall write to Lala Shankerlal regarding the Bardoli Fund. How are you?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2358

274. HELP UTKAL

Sjt. Niranjan Patnaik who represents the All-India Spinners' Association in Utkal writes a letter from which I take the following:

> For some months past the selling work of the Utkal Branch of the All-India Spinners' Association has not been quite satisfactory. Production work is going on quite well, the present rate of production being about Rs. 4,000 a month. At your suggestion we have started two new

centres in the more distressed areas, —at Aul in Cuttack District and Tihidi in the Balasore District—these two centres have now on their rolls nearly 300 spinners and their yarn production up to date has come to nearly nine maunds (1 maund = 80 lb.) most of which is 12s to 15s and some even 20s. The sales, however, are low. Last year we sold on an average Rs. 2,741 per month; during the current year, though we sold nearly Rs. 20,000 worth a few weeks before and during your visit to the province, there was a fall subsequent to that. That is, though the current year's average monthly sale would be nearly Rs. 3,500, the sale during the last few months went down even below Rs. 2,000 per month. The result is that our khadi stock is now nearly Rs. 40,000. Last year our gross profit was 10.3 per cent, and our prices this year also are fixed on that basis. I take a typical variety of production and show below what relation the cost of production bears to sale price:

Shirting piece 10 yds. x 45 inches: This weighs 4 lb. 28 *tolas* and contains about 26 threads per inch of 8s and 9s.

1.	Cost of cotton 5 lb.	Rs.	2- 8-0
2.	Spinning wages (allowing reduction of 2½ *tolas* per lb.)	,,	1- 4-0
3.	Weaving wages @ 3 as. per yd.	,,	2- 0-6
4.	Washing	,,	0- 3-0
5.	Freights, from spinning centre up to sale depot (last year's basis)	,,	0- 4-8
	Primary cost of production	,,	6- 4-2
	Sale price @ Re. 0-10-9 per yd.	,,	6-11-6
	Difference	Re.	0- 7-4

This hardly allows an anna in the rupee for establishment charges of production centre, sale or for supervision. During your last visit to Utkal you asked us not to worry over the question of sales but to put our energies solely in production work. I have requested the Secretary of the All-India Spinners' Association to help us to sell our stock. If you consider that the matter might usefully be mentioned in the columns of *Young India*, kindly help us.

Having faith in khadi and faith in the people I did tell Niranjan Babu during my Utkal tour last year that he should concentrate on production. It was not possible to see those blank eyes of skeletons and stand still when one had work for them. The reader will be surprised to learn that Utkal khadi is not cheaper than khadi from the other provinces except perhaps Gujarat. The reason is that the people being more helpless than elsewhere, every new introduction carries more cost than it would in ordinary

circumstances. The tendency however is to bring down the prices as efficiency and production grow. Meanwhile, appeal must be made to the philanthropy and patriotism of the people to take up this khadi and thus help the paupers of Orissa. The analysis of cost given in the letter shows that the bulk of the money goes directly into the pockets of the poor people. Only Rs. 0-7-4 out of Rs. 6-11-6 go towards part payment of overhead charges which too after all, pay the middle-class workers who man the khadi service. Thus in khadi production there is no overlapping. It means pure addition, be it ever so slight, to the wealth of the country, and a fresh avenue of honourable employment for honest middle-class young men without the necessity of their having to pass through English schools and produce at least matriculation certificates if not higher. There are two ways of helping to clear the surplus stock, either by buying the khadi for personal use or by paying a bounty towards reduction of the price of the khadi so that it could be sold at cheaper rates to poor local people. I hope those who understand the condition of Orissa and appreciate the value of khadi in national economics will adopt one of the two courses suggested by me. The address of the head office of the Utkal Branch of the All-India Spinners' Association is Swaraj Ashram, Berhampur, B. N. Rly.

Young India, 6-9-1928

275. *AFTER LUCKNOW*

The most brilliant victory achieved at Lucknow[1] following as it does closely on the heels of Bardoli makes a happy conjunction of events. Pandit Motilalji is today the proudest man in India and has every reason to be so. But even he could have done nothing if everyone had not conspired to make the proceedings a success. It would have been easy for the Hindus or the Mussalmans to block the way. The Sikhs could have done likewise. But no one had the heart to destroy the patient labours of the Nehru Committee. Little wonder that Pandit Malaviyaji the irrepressible optimist said that swaraj would be attained in 1930.

The honours for the happy result must however be shared with Pandit Nehru by Dr. Ansari. His invisible help was much

[1] Where the All-Parties Conference met from August 28 to 30 and unanimously endorsed the Nehru Committee Report in favour of Dominion self-government for India

greater than his visible and tactful guidance of the proceedings at Lucknow. He was ever at the beck and call of the Nehru Committee. He used all his unrivalled influence with the Mussalmans in disarming their opposition. Hindus could not resist his transparent honesty and equally transparent nationalism. The Liberals led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru lent a weight to the Conference which it would otherwise have lacked. I join Dr. Besant in her wish that they would re-enter the national organization. They need not lose their identity even as the Hindu and Mussalman organizations do not lose theirs.

The mention of the Liberals brings us to the future work. There is still much diplomatic work to be done. But more than the diplomatic work is that of forging the sanction. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru truly observed that whether it was Dominion Status or Independence, a proper sanction would be necessary if the national demand was to be enforced. Bardoli has shown the way, if the sanction has to be non-violent. The Congress creed has non-violence as its integral part. There is no denying the fact that non-violence had receded in the background before Bardoli. But even as the Nehru report has made unanimous demand possible, Bardoli has brought back the vanishing faith in non-violence.

If then we are sure of the sanction, we need not worry whether swaraj is otherwise spelt Dominion Status or Independence. Dominion Status can easily become more than Independence, if we have sanction to back it. Independence can easily become a farce, if it lacks sanction. What is in a name if we have the reality? A rose smells just as sweet whether you know it by that name or any other. Let us therefore make up our minds as to whether it is to be non-violence or violence and let the rank and file work for the sanction in real earnest even as the diplomats must work at constitution-making.

Young India, 6-9-1928

276. OUR POVERTY

It is to be hoped that the reader has followed the carefully and ably written articles of Prof. C. N. Vakil which he recently contributed to this journal on the problem of India's poverty. Prof. Sam Higginbottom sent me a circular letter propounding the following four questions:

1. What are the tests of poverty?
2. Whether India is richer or poorer today than 25 years ago or a longer period.
3. Is poverty in India general or confined to particular groups?
4. Causes and remedies.

As a layman I could but give my evidence on the questions without carrying conviction to a critic. I therefore had the important and pertinent questions circulated among economist friends with a request to answer them in some detail if they could make time for the purpose. Prof. Vakil promptly responded with the articles to which I have drawn attention. The series is really not concluded. When I came upon the last chapter dealing with the remedies, I observed that it admitted of re-writing with a view to fuller and more accurate treatment. I am now trying to induce Prof. Vakil to re-write the chapter if he can possibly find the time and has the inclination. If he does send me anything the reader may expect a further instalment[1]. Meanwhile, he may regard the series as concluded.

The articles show clearly and I venture to think conclusively that India is poorer today than 25 years or a longer period ago and that the poverty is general and not confined to groups. Prof. Vakil has applied two tests for approving his proposition. He has shown that though during the past 40 years our average income has increased in the ratio of 1 to 2.74 (and he has accepted top figures in every case) the cost of living has increased in the ratio of 1 to 3.78; in other words we are poorer today to the extent of 2/7 than we were 40 years ago. He then examines the population figures and arrives at the same conclusion by showing that, whilst the population has increased, the capacity for coping

[1] C. N. Vakil's new series of articles under the title "Remedies of Poverty" appeared in *Young India* dated September 27, October 4, 11 and 18, 1928.

with the increase has not only not kept pace with the increase but has probably deteriorated.

Prof. Vakil has enumerated the following six causes for this growing poverty:

> 1. Not enough work for the vast mass of the agricultural population during the off season.
>
> 2. The social system which imposes the burden upon one person of supporting a large family.
>
> 3. The presence of a large number of able-bodied beggars miscalled sadhus.
>
> 4. Enervating climate.
>
> 5. Resignation to fate and consequent want of determination to fight against poverty.
>
> 6. Faulty educational system.

Whilst these are contributory causes of more or less value, with the exception of the first none seems to me to go to the root of the matter. There is no doubt enough in the chapters to show that foreign exploitation of India is a cause of poverty. But in collecting the causes the Professor has evidently felt some delicacy about mentioning what is obviously a primary cause. This exploitation is a hydra-headed monster taking a variety of shapes to suit given occasions. The marine, the military, the currency, the railway and the revenue policy of the foreign Government is directed deliberately to promote an exploitation such as the world has never before witnessed. Poverty of India will never be removed so long as the exploitation continues unabated. Even the spinning-wheel or any other subsidiary occupation that may be provided for the millions of peasantry will bring only partial relief, if the terrible drain, as Dadabhai Naoroji called it, is not stopped. He, therefore, who would explore the remedies for removing poverty has to tackle first the question of stopping the continuous drain.

Young India, 6-9-1928

277. LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Mr. Andrews is abridging "My Experiments with Truth" for an English firm. I have not interfered with his work thinking that it does not in any way affect the Macmillan Company. But on re-reading the agreement between the Macmillan Company and me, I find there is just a possibility that the Company may think that any publication of an abridgement will interfere with the contract. If so, please let me know. Personally I feel that the contract is of no value to the Macmillan Company seeing that the chapters are still running on and are likely so to do for many more months. If the Company desires it, I am quite willing to cancel the agreement. I am not at all anxious to make money from the publication of the chapters in book form. But I would like not to interfere with interim abridgements, etc., being published. If the Macmillan Company will at once publish the chapters in several volumes, they may then control abridgements or selections; but if they will not publish them in volumes, nor cancel the agreement, they should not mind abridgements being published in England or elsewhere outside India till the whole thing is ready for delivery into their hands.

Yours sincerely,

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
12 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 14769

278. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABA

September 7,

Subbiah just reminds me that the abridgement that y preparing of the autobiographical chapters might possibly infringement of the contract with the Macmillan Company o York. I do not think it is any infringement until I have reach end of the chapters and delivered a copy to the Macmillan pany. However, I enclose for the sake of precaution a copy letter[1] to Rev. Holmes for your guidance.

I agree with you that nothing is to be expected from the Commission.

Sarojini is soon to leave for America. She is coming he night. Gregg is most anxious that when you go to Americ should see his people. If I can trace their address, it will g this letter.

I am trying to send you two copies of *Young India* from th the autobiography volume[2] ceased.

You will insist on overworking yourself and then keepi well. I told you in Cape Town in 1914 that you needed a c I still maintain that opinion.

Mahadev is gone to Simla with Vallabhbhai who nee change and whom Vithalbhai wanted to be with him for a fe

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.
112 GOWER STREET, LONDON, W. 1.

From a photostat: S.N. 12780

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] The reference is to Parts I, II & III of *An Autobiography* co Vol. I which was published in August 1927. The last instalment of appeared in *Young India*, 12-5-1927. Chapter I of Part IV appeared subsequent issue.

279. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI
September 7, 192

DEAR SATIS BABU,

Having read in the papers that beriberi has again broke out in Calcutta, I got nervous and telegraphed to you this mornin suggesting a change for yourself and Hemprabha Devi. O course you could always come here, and your time will not b wasted. As a matter of fact a spinner's time is nowhere wastec I want you therefore to consider my suggestion seriously.

About the Exhibition, I am advising all khadi organization that so far the decision is that khadi is not to be represented a the Congress Exhibition.

The hand-pump you installed is causing trouble. It seems t me that without a proper mechanic at your disposal, it is nc safe to have these mechanical contrivances. The hand-pum suddenly refused to work the other day and we were without wate and unprepared for the emergency. Today the lift bucket brol down and there was again water famine, and men having onc wound themselves up that there is to be no water-drawing, the is always a disinclination to revert to it. I know that these dif culties will not occur where there is a mechanical atmospher I give you this information so that you may give me what gu dance you like in the matter. Having got the pump I won't easi give in.

For the more amibtious scheme[1] you have mapped out, shall wait till I feel safe over the hand-pump.

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN, SODEPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 13510

[1] For tube-well water-supply for Sabarmati Ashram

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You will insist on overworking yourself and then keeping unwell. I told you in Cape Town in 1914 that you needed a curator; I still maintain that opinion.

Mahadev is gone to Simla with Vallabhbhai who needed a change and whom Vithalbhai wanted to be with him for a few days.

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About the Exhibition, I am advising all khadi organizations that so far the decision is that khadi is not to be represented at the Congress Exhibition.

The hand-pump you installed is causing trouble. It seems to me that without a proper mechanic at your disposal, it is not safe to have these mechanical contrivances. The hand-pump suddenly refused to work the other day and we were without water and unprepared for the emergency. Today the lift bucket broke down and there was again water famine, and men having once wound themselves up that there is to be no water-drawing, there is always a disinclination to revert to it. I know that these difficulties will not occur where there is a mechanical atmosphere. I give you this information so that you may give me what guidance you like in the matter. Having got the pump I won't easily give in.

For the more amibtious scheme[1] you have mapped out, I shall wait till I feel safe over the hand-pump.

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN, SODEPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 13510

[1] For tube-well water-supply for Sabarmati Ashram

280. LETTER TO K. SADASHIVA RAO

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 7, 1928

MY DEAR SADASHIVA RAO,

I have your letter. If we will serve the country and not think of ourselves, we will rejoice even when the world pelts us or ill-treats us. And I am sure that you will feel all the better and stronger if you will take the shock in good grace and really feel that a load is off your back.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SADASHIVA RAO KARNAD
KODAIBAIL, MANGALORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13511

281. LETTER TO DHAN GOPAL MUKERJEE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] I have never quoted Tolstoy or any other author without acknowledgment in any of my writings. And I do not remember having often quoted authors in my writings; not because I would not, but because my reading is so poor and capacity for reproducing what I have read is still less.

The vow of celibacy was undoubtedly taken after I had acquired considerable acquaintance with Tolstoy's teachings. And, whilst it is as a general statement quite true that my life is based upon the teachings of the *Gita*, I would not be able to swear that Tolstoy's writings and teachings did not influence my decision about celibacy.

[1] The correspondent, in his letter of August 14, had *inter alia* requested Gandhiji to write in *Young India* giving an account of the latter's relationship with Tolstoy. For Gandhiji's speech touching on this point, *vide* "Speech on Birth Centenary of Tolstoy", 10-9-1928.

So much for your satisfaction. I hope at some date to deal with your vital question in the pages of *Young India.*

Yours sincerely,

DHAN GOPAL MUKERJEE

From a photostat: S.N. 14378

282. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 7, 1928

I have your letter as also Millie's[1]. I was glad to hear from her directly after a long long time, and I was so glad that you were able to meet Kallenbach. I must not even try to write to her a separate love-letter. Life with me is becoming more and more strenuous and exacting. But I seem to be flourishing in spite of it all.

Devdas is in Delhi teaching carding, spinning and Hindi to the boys of the National Muslim University. Ramdas is in Bardoli and was [there] when satyagraha was going on. He is now taking part in the constructive work such as temperance, spinning, social reform, etc.

The Welsh model spinning-wheel[2] did not come last week. It may come tomorrow.

I wonder if Leon remembers me at all.

Yours sincerely,

H. S. L. POLAK
265 STRAND, LONDON, W.C. 2

From a photostat: S.N. 14380

[1] Mrs. Polak
[2] For spinning wool

283. SPEECH AT DEAF AND DUMB SCHOOL, AHMEDABAD

September 7, 1928

My association with this school dates back to the year 1915. Despite numerous engagements, I have come here at the request of Seth Mangaldas and Pranshankar. This is a small school for the deaf and dumb, but I have undertaken the task of running a school for thousands of the deaf and dumb and of removing the privation caused by ignorance. A person like Seth Mangaldas cannot get away with it by merely donating a small sum. One business man of Ahmedabad alone can run such a school. Ahmedabad has the capacity to run many such schools. We can show our gratitude to God for gifts of speech and sight by rendering some service to such deaf and dumb persons. Shri Pranshankar gave you a report of the school but did not tell you how it came into existence. One of his own sons was deaf and dumb and because he was convinced that he should receive an education, he began teaching him; later on because he combined the welfare of others with self-interest, this school came into existence. It should be a common thing to combine social service with self-interest. But it is difficult to persuade people in Ahmedabad where everyone has started accumulating wealth, to do welfare work while pursuing their own interest. Shri Pranshankar has given figures to show there are only three schools for the 70,000 deaf and dumb in the province and out of two lakhs of deaf mutes in India only 500 are looked after. From this we see that their education has been neglected. We enable them to fill their stomachs by giving them alms but neglect the important task of educating them. There is a saying that an idle man rides on the shoulders of two. We should not make these deaf mutes mere idlers but should train them to make a living. Ahmedabad should not look elsewhere for help for such schools but on the contrary it should give generous donations to deserving outsiders. Talking of Ahmedabad, I will draw your attention to one more matter. I have just come across a book written by Dr. Hariprasad[1] for the Gujarat Vernacular Society. He says in it that of all Indian cities Ahmedabad has the highest death rate. Since among countries India has the highest death rate, it follows that death rate in Ahmedabad is the

[1] President of the Youth Association, Ahmedabad

highest in the world. I receive visitors from America, England and different parts of the world and I have to bow down in shame when they talk of the dirty lanes and streets of Ahmedabad. We should improve this state of affairs. We can make Ahmedabad a beautiful city if we use our intelligence and physical strength. Finally, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to lay the foundation-stone of this school and hope that the school would prosper from day to day. Let the educated class make money, but instead of amassing wealth for themselves they should give its benefit generously to others—this is my humble prayer.

[From Gujarati]
Prajabandhu, 9-9-1928

284. LETTER TO M. ZAFARULMULK

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I hope that your propaganda will succeed in making your scheme popular. When you do come, you shall certainly discuss it with me to your heart's content.

With reference to the constitution I agree that it is entirely Western. But I have not bothered about its being Western or Eastern. If we have a true awakening in us, we shall be able to turn it as we will and make it serve our purpose instead of becoming slaves to it. The constitution is the logical outcome of the institutions we have at present. An Assembly man could not give any other constitution than what has been produced, and, if we succeed in getting the logical result of the present mode of Government of India and if it does not suit the genius of the people, you may depend upon it that they will destroy it and raise another into being. What is necessary is to remove the force that is weighing us down. And seeing that we have a tolerable agreement upon a passable constitution, it would be folly in my opinion to reject that constitution. Such is my justification for whole-heartedly recommending it to the country.

Yours sincerely,

M. ZAFARULMULK
LUCKNOW

From a photostat: S.N. 13512

285. LETTER TO S. C. BRAHMACHARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry that it is not possible for me to send you *Young India* or *Young India* literature free. The management does not encourage such applications if only because of the number received daily. Of course you know that *Young India* is not a business concern. It is a concern just as philanthropic as the Ramakrishna Mission. *Young India* therefore carries a very limited complimentary list.

Yours sincerely,

SRI SHRADDHA CHAITANYA BRAHMACHARI
SRI RAMAKRISHNA MATH, GARRISON ROAD, DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13513

286. LETTER TO R. D. PRABHU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If bath conciliates the Inamdar, you will take it, not because you believe in the necessity of it but for the sake of the Inamdar, and therefore for the sake of the untouchable brethren whom you want to serve.

If the Mahratta boys leave the school because the Mahar boys are also learning there, you will not mind the former leaving the school, but you will persist in teaching the Mahar boys at any cost.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. D. PRABHU
VINZANE, P.O. HALKARNI, MAHAL CHANDGAD, DT. BELGAUM

From a microfilm: S.N. 13514

287. LETTER TO P. A. WADIA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have seen your letter to Mahadev who has gone to Simla with Vallabhbhai Patel. I should love to join the Retreat[1] if it is at all possible. But so far as I can see at present, there is no chance of my being able to do so. However you do not need a positive reply so far in advance. I would like you not to build anything on the hope of my coming. Take me as a chance visitor if I can at all come, and therefore I would like you to remind me when the time draws near.

I have read with interest your remarks about the proposal to divide India into provinces on a linguistic basis. My feeling is that we will not be able to foster the national instinct by any superimposition from without. I therefore feel that we shall lose nothing by recognizing the natural linguistic divisions unless the desire is to replace the different languages by one language, both for the classes and the masses.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13515

288. MESSAGE TO "KHADI VIJAY"[2]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 8, 1928

"Khadi Vijay" means victory of khadi. It is good that there should be a monthly devoted to khadi, but it will be better if people especially the mercantile class will devote themselves to khadi. Then victory for khadi is assured.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13516

[1] Proposed to be organized by International Fellowship at Bombay

[2] This was an enclosure to the following item.

289. LETTER TO GANGADHAR RAO

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 8, 1928

MY DEAR GANGADHAR RAO,

Here is the message[1] for Sjt. Nanjappa which Kaka tells me you want for him.

I hope you have got over your dejection as also your illness and that you are now looking twenty years younger for your victories in Poona. I hope that this new khadi spirit will last.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13517

290. LETTER TO CHINTAMANI B. KHADILKAR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Yours is essentially a case for satyagraha. You are a member of a club whose other members have committed a breach of their own pledge. If, therefore, you have the courage, you will offer satyagraha without being in any way irritated against them. But before you do so, you should reason with them and use every effort to persuade them to redeem their promise. If they do not respond, you will then carefully consider what form your satyagraha can possibly take.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. CHINTAMANI BALWANT KHADILKAR
FERGUSSON COLLEGE, HOSTEL ROOM NO. 332
DECCAN GYMKHANA, POONA CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 13518

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

291. 'WHAT DO CHILDREN UNDERSTAND?'

A student of the Gujarat Vidyapith writes to say:[1]

I have been unable to go through the articles from which extracts have been given in this letter. It is not always possible to interpret rightly a passage taken from an article without reference to the context. Nevertheless, it is not difficult for me to reply to the question without reading the original article, as the idea in the passages quoted above is based on my own experience. In this context, the reader should understand a child to mean not a child of two but a child of the age at which he or she is normally admitted to school.

From the fact that children fall asleep when I read the *Gita*, it cannot be concluded that their understanding is deficient. It may be said that I am unable to create interest in my reading the *Gita*, it may even be the case that the child is tired at that time. I have often seen children asleep while they are being taught arithmetic, told amusing stories or when taken to see a play. I have also seen adults dozing while the *Gita* or other scriptures are being read. Hence, when considering the question posed above, we should leave out of account the fact of children falling asleep or displaying lack of interest.

These doubts should not arise in the mind of anyone to whom it is as clear as daylight that the child's soul existed before he or she was born, that the soul has no beginning and knows no such states as childhood, youth and old age. It is because of our connection with the physical form, because of the current trends of thought and because of our disinclination to go deep into the matter that we conclude that the child knows only how to play or, at the most can write the alphabet and, going further, can memorize the tongue-twisting names of the rivers, etc., of Europe and America and understand the history and learn the names, although difficult to pronounce, of the kings, plunderers and killers of various countries.

My own experience is the very opposite of this. The ideal of soul, truth and love can easily be put before children in language which they can understand. I have heard not one but many children, who have no knowledge of the world, ask about a dead person:

[1] This letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that Gandhiji's writings showed that he expected too much from children;

"Where has this man's soul gone?" A child who asks this question can easily be taught about the soul. Crores of illiterate Indian children realize the distinction between truth and falsehood, between love and hate, from the very age that they begin to understand things. Is there a child who would not recognize the nectar-like stream of love or, the embers of wrath glowing or blazing from his parents' eyes? The student who has put the question seems to have forgotten his own childhood. I therefore wish to remind him of the fact that he had experience of parental love before he acquired a knowledge of the alphabet. Love, truth and the soul would have been forgotten long ago had these required language in order to reveal themselves.

The passages quoted by the correspondent do not advise putting abstract truth before children but explain that we should exhibit before them immortal virtues like truth and prove to them that they, too, have them. In brief, formation of character should have priority over knowledge of the alphabet. If this order is reversed, the attempt would be like putting the cart before the horse and making it push the cart with its nose, and would meet with the same success as the latter course. It is because he realized the truth of this that Darwin's contemporary, the scientist Wallace, said at the age of ninety that in basic moral standards he saw in the so-called educated and reformed nations no progress over the Negroes who are regarded as uncivilized. If we were not under the spell of the various external temptations that exist today, we would realize the truth of Wallace's statement and plan and frame our educational curriculum in a different manner.

I will ask a counter-question in reply to the question regarding the ten-headed Ravana. Which of the two ideas can be more readily explained to a child? Is it easier to convince him that a ten-headed creature which could never have been created existed in the form of Ravana, or is it easier to make him aware of the ten-headed Ravana who lives secretly like a thief in the heart of each one of us? In believing that the child is devoid of imagination and intellectual powers, we do him grave injustice and belittle ourselves. To say that a child does understand does not imply that he understands things without our explaining them to him. Despite every effort to convince a child to that effect, he will not accept the idea that a human being with ten heads can actually exist, whereas he will understand the idea of the ten-headed Ravana who has entered our hearts as soon as it is explained to him.

I hope now that the student will not ask me why I do not

feel ashamed to read Tulsidas's *Ramayana* and Vyasa's *Gita* before children. I do not wish to teach the children the philosophical implications of the idea of karma, *tyaga*[1] or *sthitaprajna*[2] to children. I do not believe that I myself have acquired such knowledge or rather I know I have not. Perhaps I would not understand books which are full of philosophical discussions about karma, etc., and, even if I do understand them with difficulty, I would certainly be bored. And when one is bored one may even fall asleep. However, when I think of spinning or doing work as sacrifice for the benefit of the millions and giving up self-indulgence so that I might do that, sweet slumber would seem like poison to me and I would wake up. It is my unshakable faith, based on experience, that if the *Gita* and such other works are explained in a simple manner to children, the effort will certainly benefit them in later years.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-9-1928

292. LUCKNOW

If the Bardoli victory is part of history, so will be the victory at Lucknow. Bardoli has shown the way to organic swaraj—to *Ramarajya*, while Lucknow has opened the gates of constitutional swaraj. Both things were essential. Whereas learned and politically astute leaders were required for the Lucknow swaraj, the ordinary, illiterate masses served the purpose for the Bardoli swaraj. While the intellect played the chief role in the one case, faith did that in the other. The fact that the meeting at Lucknow was held immediately after the victory at Bardoli was not deliberately contrived. Hence those who have faith in God would look upon it as an indication of His will. Pandit Motilal deserves to be complimented for the people's victory in Lucknow. Were it not for his single-minded devotion to the cause, his ability, his hard work and his faith, the task would not have been accomplished. The success consists not in the leaders having devised the best constitution, but in their achieving unity over a constitution which preserves everyone's self-respect and safeguards the rights of all. Meetings of various parties were being held for many months. But it was only in Lucknow that they bore visible fruit. This success must be attributed to Pandit Motilalji.

[1] Renunciation
[2] Of steadfast intellect

Dr. Ansari's name must be added to his. Everyone could see that by means of his tact and patience he kept the followers of various parties together. However, it is only a few who know of the work that he had been doing behind the scenes for the past few months. Success would not have been possible if Dr. Ansari had not stood by the Nehru Committee whenever that was necessary. He took full advantage of his love for the Muslims. It was impossible for any Hindu to question his ardent patriotism. He could thus win the confidence of all.

The presence of the members of the Liberal Party and that of Sir Ali Imam and Dr. Besant added to the distinction and importance of the gathering.

However, just as the Sardar cannot go to sleep after the victory at Bardoli, similarly Panditji and the other members cannot rest after the Lucknow triumph. Bharatbhushan Madan Mohan Malaviya's happy prophecy about swaraj being established in 1930 will not come true if the remaining tasks are not completed without delay. God helps only those who are awake, not those who slumber. There is of course the task of mobilizing public opinion behind the Nehru constitution. But the more important task is that of developing the strength to get that constitution accepted. Pandit Jawaharlal had reminded the meeting of this fact even at Lucknow. Whether you are in favour of Dominion Status or of Independence, it will be necessary to cultivate the strength to secure either. Without this strength neither can be won. Swaraj is not going to descend on us from the heavens. It will not be received as a gift from the British Empire either. It can only be the reward of our own efforts. The very word swaraj means effort by the nation. What does a goat know of swaraj? Can she taste its sweetness merely because lions and other beasts of prey let it alone? If not the lion, his cousins will be there to eat her up. We are in the same position. No one will be able to stand in our way when we have developed the strength to win swaraj. Everyone's freedom is within his own grasp.

There are two alternatives before us. The one is that of violence, the other of non-violence; the one of physical strength, the other of soul-force; the one of hatred, the other of love; the one of disorder, the other of peace; one that is demoniac, the other that is godly. Bardoli has taught us an object-lesson in peace. The path of peace is the one mentioned in the Congress pledge. But, before the victory of Bardoli, the nation seemed to have lost faith in peaceful methods. After that victory, it seems to have recovered it. If we want swaraj, we shall have to strive hard and follow one

of these two courses. As they are incompatible with each other, the fruit, the swaraj that would be secured by following the one would necessarily be different from that which would be secured by following the other. In either case the result will be known as swaraj, but its contents would be different in the two cases. We shall reap as we sow.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-9-1928

293. TEMPERANCE WORK IN SURAT DISTRICT

Shrimati Mithubehn Petit, by whose initiative a temperance league has been set up for the Surat district, has sent the following note[1]:

Sardar Vallabhbhai has very often said that he had received strong support from Mithubehn. This Parsi lady, who had never before suffered any hardships, lived in peasant homes as one of them. She was content with their simple food and, despite her frail constitution and despite the absence of the comforts she was accustomed to, she managed to keep physically fit and work ceaselessly day and night. Through her own bravery she has taught the lesson of courage to the men and women of Bardoli; her untiring efforts have put young men to shame. Being in love with khadi she went from door to door hawking khadi and created interest in the people for it. As she cannot remain idle for a single moment, Vallabhbhai has given her the name 'Chanchalbehn'[2]. This lady discovered that liquor was consumed in large quantities in the Surat District. She also saw that most of the owners of liquor booths were Parsis. She, therefore, decided to take up temperance work in the entire Surat District, and now, through her initiative, the league referred to above has been established. From the names of the members of the executive committee I could see that Mithubehn intends to exact hard work from them. I hope that they will not spare themselves. Mithubehn will not let them easily. If this league succeeds in its aim, its success will be a very valuable contribution to the constructive work undertaken in Bardoli, and it will not only save lakhs of rupees in the Surat District, but will also have an effect throughout the country. Not only are twenty crores of rupees thrown away every year

[1] Not translated here. It gave the names of the members of the league.
[2] Literally, 'the restless one'

through the consumption of liquor, but it also destroys the moral character of millions of people and ruins innumerable families. Anyone who has really developed interest in khadi immediately sees this. Mithubehn has seen it and her heroic spirit has now inspired her to take up this gigantic task. May God grant her good health and strength.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-9-1928

294. CASTE-DISTINCTIONS AT MEALS IN NATIONAL HOSTELS

One of the letters in Kakasaheb's increasingly large mail dealt with the subject of caste-distinctions at meals. He has sent me a copy of his reply to it. I give below his ideas in his own words, as they will be of value in guiding the hostels:[1]

Kakasaheb wishes to tread the ground carefully. As far as possible, he does not wish to hurt the feelings of either the students or their parents; hence he says: "Only Brahmin cooks prepare meals in the hostel. As our rules of purity demand that meals should be prepared in a particular manner, these are observed by the employment of Brahmin cooks." In my opinion, it will not be possible to insist upon having Brahmin cooks for long. It is not true that only Brahmins—in the sense in which the word is used here—are capable of observing the rules of purity. Moreover, it is also not a fact that Brahmins will necessarily abide by these rules. I have seen many Brahmin cooks who are dirty and who violate the laws of hygiene. Everyone who keeps his eyes open will see them. I have also come across many Non-Brahmin cooks who know and observe the rules of cleanliness and hygiene. Hence if we bear in mind the original meaning of the word Brahmin and regard anyone who abides by the laws of purity as a Brahmin, all national hostels will readily be able to follow the rule laid down by Kakasaheb. If only those who are Brahmins by birth are regarded as such, we shall not get many Brahmin cooks who will abide by the rules of purity and those who are available will demand such high salaries and act in such a headstrong manner that it will become impossible to keep them in employment. As the Vidyapith worships truth and non-violence,

[1] Kalelkar's reply is not translated here. He had stated that the hostels of the Vidyapith did not approve of or encourage such distinctions.

it should declare the position as it really is in our hostels. It cannot close its eyes to facts either within itself or in the outside world. Hence Kakasaheb has stated that caste-distinctions at meals have no place in the hostels of the Vidyapith. Such distinctions imply distinctions of high and low. The varna system, on the other hand, has nothing to do with distinctions of high and low. The Brahmin who claims to be high falls and becomes low. The world raises high those who regard themselves as low and lead a common man's life. Where is the room for high and low when *moksha* is the ideal, when non-violence is the supreme dharma and we believe in the oneness of the *atman* in all? Hence, I think all that we can say in regard to national hostels is that every effort will be made to observe in them all the rules of cleanliness, which means that the true Brahmana dharma will remain their ideal. We cannot have as our ideal the practice of Brahmana dharma which concerns itself with outward forms and lacks the true essence, for it is an evil and, therefore, to be shunned.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-9-1928

295. MY NOTES

Disregard for the Living Quern

A volunteer who works in Bardoli writes to say:[1]

The complaint which this volunteer makes can be made about many other classes of people. The teeth are an important gift of nature. They are a living quern. Anyone who ignores it, shortens his life. Grain that has been once ripened by the rays of the sun needs no other form of cooking. However, ever since man learnt to enjoy tasty food with his palate, he started cooking again what had already been cooked once, with the result that his life-span was shortened. It may well be that we cannot all at once give up a bad practice which has come down to us from ancient times and cannot altogether dispense with the oven; however, we could save a great deal of time and money if we make minimum use of it. We can never eat sun-ripened grain in the same quantities as we eat it in cooked form. We cannot eat

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had drawn attention to the common practice of villagers eating wheat or *bajri* cakes soaked in milk, without chewing them properly.

as much of dry food as we can eat food which is soaked and crushed. Nature has provided us with nectar in our palate in order to moisten dry food, and with teeth for the purpose of grinding it to paste. We ignore both these gifts by becoming slaves of our palate, and thereby we not only commit a crime but also needlessly burden our intestines and shorten our lives, and even during this short life-span we fall a prey to many diseases. Hence, although we may not be ready to eat uncooked, sun-ripened grain and be satisfied with it, we should form the practice of carefully chewing cooked food when eating it. Even rice can be chewed, and green vegetables can certainly be eaten uncooked. Doctors recommend the latter. We get from uncooked vegetables the nutrients that we require. They are known as 'vitamins' in English, and doctors claim that these vitamins are destroyed as a result of cooking, and that their destruction leads to ill-health.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-9-1928

296. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION[1]

A student of the Gujarat Vidyapith writes:

> What concrete form ought religious instruction to take in the Vidyapith?

To me religion means truth and ahimsa or rather truth alone, because truth includes ahimsa, ahimsa being the necessary and indispensable means for its discovery. Therefore anything that promotes the practice of these virtues is a means for imparting religious education and the best way to do this, in my opinion, is for the teachers rigorously to practise these virtues in their own person. Their very association with the boys, whether on the playground or in the class-room, will then give the pupils a fine training in these fundamental virtues.

So much for instruction in the universal essentials of religion. A curriculum of religious instruction should include a study of the tenets of faiths other than one's own. For this purpose the students should be trained to cultivate the habit of understanding and appreciating the doctrines of various great religions of the world in a spirit of reverence and broad-minded tolerance. This, if properly

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 9-9-1928. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

done, would help to give them a spiritual assurance and a better appreciation of their own religion. There is one rule, however, which should always be kept in mind while studying all great religions and that is that one should study them only through the writings of known votaries of the respective religions. For instance, if one wants to study the *Bhagavata* one should do so not through a translation of it made by a hostile critic but through one prepared by a lover of the *Bhagavata.* Similarly to study the Bible one should study it through the commentaries of devoted Christians. This study of other religions besides one's own will give one a grasp of the rock-bottom unity of all religions and afford a glimpse also of that universal and absolute truth which lies beyond the "dust of creeds and faiths".

Let no one even for a moment entertain the fear that a reverent study of other religions is likely to weaken or shake one's faith in one's own. The Hindu system of philosophy regards all religions as containing the elements of truth in them and enjoins an attitude of respect and reverence towards them all. This of course presupposes regard for one's own religion. Study and appreciation of other religions need not cause a weakening of that regard; it should mean extension of that regard to other religions.

In this respect religion stands on the same footing as culture. Just as preservation of one's own culture does not mean contempt for that of others, but requires assimilation of the best that there may be in all the other cultures, even so should be the case with religion. Our present fears and apprehensions are a result of the poisonous atmosphere that has been generated in the country, the atmosphere of mutual hatred, ill-will and distrust. We are constantly labouring under a nightmare of fear lest someone should stealthily undermine our faith or the faith of those who are dear and near to us. But this unnatural state will cease when we have learnt to cultivate respect and tolerance towards other religions and their votaries.

Young India, 6-12-1928

297. *LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 9, 1928

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I have your letter. I have glanced at the speech of which you have sent me a copy. Personally, I do not mind Devanagari and Urdu being optionally used. For, ultimately that script will survive whose users have greater vitality. The fact however is that I do not trouble myself about these things. I believe in subscribing to any solution that the leaders may evolve, so long as it does not commit me to a breach of any fundamental conviction.

Of course I admired your yielding on the Sind question. But I was curious to know what made you yield, because I knew that you had very strong conviction about it.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13519

298. *LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRAN*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 9, 1928

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRAN,

I have your letter. My decision is this. Do not accept your own certificate about your completion of apprenticeship. Let Rajaji judge. If he says you can start in Kerala, do so by all means; but if he does not, wait till he is convinced. I am sure that it is the best thing for your work. If your own conclusion is sound, you should have confidence in your ability to carry conviction to Rajaji. Personally, I have no misgivings about success of khadi in Kerala, if the right stamp of men concentrate their energy upon khadi. Of course I like the idea of your becoming a member of the Gandhi Seva Sangh.

Mahadev is in Simla, Vallabhbhai having taken him there to write the history of Bardoli Satyagraha. Rasik and Navin Gandhi have gone to Delhi to help Devdas in his work in the Jamia.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13520

299. LETTER TO HUGO BUCHSER[1]

September 9, 1928

I have no ability to write articles to order, nor have I any ambition in that direction.

M. K. G.

From a microfilm: S.N. 14382

300. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS[2]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 10, 1928

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

Your letter about Ram Binod gives me much relief. I am sending copies to Jamnalalji and others. You do not say anything about reported purchases by Ram Binod. Is there any truth in those allegations?

I received the Bengali edition of *Seven Months*[3]. Is it selling well? The English edition badly lacks an index. There are misprints too.

How are you keeping in health and how is Guruji?

The Ashram is undergoing many drastic changes of which perhaps Giriraj writes to you.

With love,

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 13654

[1] In reply to his letter from Geneva, as "representative of most important European daily papers", requesting Gandhiji to send him from time to time articles for publication abroad, and guaranteeing a very high recompense

[2] In reply to his letter dated August 30, 1928, wherein he had absolved Ram Binod of the charges of having misused funds placed at his disposal for khaddar work in Berar

[3] *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi*, by the addressee

301. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 10, 1928

CHI. BALKRISHNA,

I have your letter. But I have never held that one who is actually a soldier—and not one in outward appearance—should also be a *jnani*[1]. But I would certainly say that anyone who was not a soldier, or could not become one, could never be a *jnani*. The same is true about being a *brahmachari*. We do not see in life that anyone who has mastered one of his senses is necessarily a man of knowledge, but all of us hold that immorality is impossible in a *jnani*. I do not think I need to be a *jnani* to be able to put my hands on the shoulders of girls when walking without being disturbed by the touch. A father with many daughters who has pure feelings towards them may still be sunk in ignorance in other respects. He may even have impure feelings towards other women. It is but natural that I should have fatherly feelings for the girls in the Ashram. I have cultivated this state of heart over the years. Though I have, thus, pure feelings towards them as towards most women, I am not in a position to claim further that I have always experienced such pure feelings towards every woman. My present condition is certainly pure, but, so long as I have not become completely free from every kind of impure feeling, I cannot say that I feel no fear about the future too. I have never believed or felt myself to be a *jnani*. On the contrary, I realize my state of ignorance every day. I have never felt that I am committing the slightest wrong in putting my hands on the shoulders of girls, for I know that they are but daughters to me. That being so, it is also not true that I have done them harm by my conduct. I have felt that through such intimacy I have entered their heart and that in consequence they have become purer in their feelings towards men. I have also considered the matter from the point of view of the effect of my conduct on society. There is certainly a belief among Hindus that even a father should shrink from touching his daughter. This seems to me a wrong notion, an enemy of *brahmacharya*. That *brahmacharya* which enter-

[1] Man of knowledge

tains such fear is no *brahmacharya*. Rishyashringa's[1] *brahmacharya* is not our ideal. Nevertheless, for the past three weeks I have practically given up putting my hands on the shoulders of girls regarded as grown-up, for the doubt which occurred to you occurred also to other inmates of the Ashram. In such a matter I need not insist on my own point of view. Putting one's hands on the shoulders of girls cannot be a matter of principle, and therefore as soon as the issue was raised I discussed the matter with everyone and gave up the practice. The girls have felt a little hurt by this, but on the whole they are reconciled to it and in time will get completely reconciled. No one, of course, should imitate my practice. Anyone who has fatherly feelings towards girls will not shrink, when necessary, from touching them in a manner befitting a father and the world also will not censure him.

I do not understand what you write about . . .[2] and why you are pained by the matter. You admit that you made a mistake in writing to him and advising him to follow my advice and in asking me to guide him. After that, where was the need for me to discuss the matter with you? Moreover, how could I believe that you could tell me anything more than what . . . would about his relation to his wife? Despite what you write and tell me, I believe that my advice to . . . was the right one. I have sent him there with the advice, and in the hope that, if he was sincere in the vow of *brahmacharya* which he had taken in regard to his wife, he would even now observe it. He has gone there to demonstrate that he is a brother and a friend of his wife. This is my view of the matter, which he has completely understood. If, instead of behaving as a brother, he acts like a husband, you may assume that his vow of *brahmacharya* in regard to his wife was insincere. It was only waiting for an opportunity to be broken. I suppose you have not overlooked the fact that he was never free from impure feelings towards other women. If . . . still writes to you about himself, I suggest that you should come and see me in the matter. I had suggested this course to you even earlier. I think it best that you should give up the attempt to guide . . . independently. If you do not understand what I have said in this letter, ask me again. You should have no doubt at all, I have none, about the rightness of my advice to . . . If you have any, however, or feel any doubt later, ask me again and again.

[1] A character in the *Ramayana*. He had no acquaintance with women and was lured away by the first woman he met.

[2] Name omitted

I very much liked your caution regarding the common ki chen. Our ideal of the Ashram is that even visitors should ol serve *brahmacharya* while they stay in it. This rule is made cat gorical in the new set of rules. That has naturally added to tl number of those taking their meals in the common kitchen. Ho can we say that even those who take the vow of *brahmacharya* a1 not *brahmacharis* of their own will? I, however, believe you statement that many have joined the common kitchen out their respect for me. The kitchen has led to a new idea durin the past few days. There is no suggestion that it should be abar doned, but a proposal is being discussed whether those who ca1 not sincerely be its members and cannot whole-heartedly adoj its other implications should not leave the Ashram.

I shall await your letter regarding the effect of the use of lir seed oil. How do you obtain fresh linseed oil? Do you obtain day's or a month's requirement, at a time? Do you get c pressed by an indigenous or an English mill? If it is oil presse in an indigenous mill and if you know the process through whic the seed is passed before it is pressed, please let me know. If yc do not know this, get the information and let me have it.

Blessings fr
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 801. Courtesy: Balkrishna Bhave

302. SPEECH ON BIRTH CENTENARY OF TOLSTOY[1]

September 10, 19

My present state of mind does not at all permit me to join celebrating any day or festival. Some time ago a reader *Navajivan* or *Young India* asked me a question: "You have statec writing about *shraddha*, that the right way of performing t *shraddha* of our elders, on their death-anniversary day, is to 1 call their virtues and make them our own. May I ask you, ther fore, how you observe the *shraddha* days of your elders?" I used observe these days when I was young, but I don't mind telli you that now I do not even remember the dates on which th fall. I do not recall to have observed any such day during t

[1] The speech was delivered at a meeting held in the Ashram under auspices of the Ahmedabad Youth Association. An English version of speech appeared in *Young India*, 20-9-1928.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 430-1.

past many years. Such is my unhappy state of mind, or rather, you may say, my charming or, as some friends believe, profound, ignorance. I believe it is enough if we fix our attention every minute of the day on the task in hand, think about it and do it as methodically as we can. We thereby celebrate the death anniversary of our elders as also the memory of men like Tolstoy. If Dr. Hariprasad had not drawn me into the net, it is quite likely that I would have arranged no celebration in the Ashram on this day, the 10th; it is even likely that I would have forgotten the day altogether. I had letters three months ago from Aylmer Maude and others engaged in collecting Tolstoy's writings, requesting me to send an article on the occasion of this centenary celebration and to draw the country's attention to this date. You must have seen an abstract of Aylmer Maude's letter, or perhaps the whole of it, published in *Young India*.[1] Afterwards I forgot all about this matter. This is an auspicious occasion for me, but I would not have felt sorry if I had discovered that I had forgotten it. All the same, I welcome the opportunity which members of the Youth Association have offered of celebrating this day in the Ashram.

I wish I could say that, like Dattatreya, I had accepted many persons in this world as my gurus, but I am not in that position. I have said, on the contrary, that I am still in search of a guru in religious matters. It is my belief, which grows stronger day by day, that one must have especial fitness to find a guru. A guru comes unsought to him who has it. I lack such fitness. I have described Gokhale as my political guru. He had satisfied all my expectations of a guru in that field. I never doubted or questioned the propriety of his views or instructions. I cannot say that of anyone as a guru in religious matters.

And yet, I would say that three men have had a very great influence on my life. Among them I give the first place to the poet Rajchandra, the second to Tolstoy and the third to Ruskin. If I had to choose between Tolstoy and Ruskin and if I knew more about the lives of both, I would not know to whom to give preference. At present, however, I give the place to Tolstoy. I have not read as much of Tolstoy's life as many others may have, and in fact I have not read very much of his writings either. Among his works the one which has had the greatest effect on me is *The Kingdom of God Is within You*. The title means that God's Kingdom is in our heart, that if we search for it outside we shall find it nowhere. I

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 73-4.

read the book forty years ago. At that time, I was sceptical al many things and sometimes entertained atheistic ideas. Whe went to England, I was a votary of violence, I had faith in it none in non-violence. After I read this book, that lack of f in non-violence vanished. Later I read some of his other bo but I cannot describe what effect they had on me. I can say what effect his life as a whole had on me.

I attach importance to two things in his life. He did wha preached. His simplicity was extraordinary; it was not me outward; outward simplicity of course he had. Though he born in an aristocratic family and had all the good things of to enjoy, had at his disposal all that wealth and possessions c give a man, he changed the direction of his life's voyage in prime of youth. Though he had enjoyed all the pleasures tasted all the sweetness which life can offer, the moment he lized the futility of that way of life he turned his back on it, he remained firm in his new convictions till the end of his life have, therefore, stated in some message I have sent that To was the very embodiment of truth in this age. He strove unc promisingly to follow truth as he saw it, making no attemp conceal or dilute what he believed to be the truth. He st what he felt to be the truth without caring whether it would or please the people or whether it would be welcome to the mi emperor. Tolstoy was a great advocate of non-violence in his I know of no author in the West who has written as much as effectively for the cause of non-violence as Tolstoy has d I may go even further and say that I know no one in India elsewhere who has had as profound an understanding of the na of non-violence as Tolstoy had and who has tried to follow sincerely as he did.

I feel unhappy about this state of affairs, I do not lik India is *karmabhumi*[1]. The sages and seers of this country have n the biggest discoveries in the sphere of non-violence. But we not live on inherited wealth. If we do not continue to add t we would be eating it away. The late Justice Ranade has tioned us against this. We may complacently quote the V and Jain literature and talk profound things, or propound g principles and strike the world dumb, but people will not be in our sincerity. Hence Ranade pointed it out as our duty we should add to our inheritance. We should compare it the writings of other religious thinkers and if, as a result of

[1] Land of duty, contrasted with *bhogabhumi*, land of enjoyment

comparison, we discover anything new or find new light shed on a subject, we should not reject it. We have, however, failed to do this. Our religious heads are always one-sided in their thinking. There is no harmony between their words and deeds. We do not have among us men who, like Tolstoy, would speak out the plain truth irrespective of whether or not that would please the people or the society in which they work. Such is the pitiable condition of this our land of non-violence. Our non-violence is an unworthy thing. We see its utmost limit in refraining somehow from destroying bugs, mosquitoes and fleas, or from killing birds and animals. We do not care if these creatures suffer, nor even if we partly contribute to their suffering. On the contrary, we think it a heinous sin if anyone releases or helps in releasing a creature that suffers. I have already written and explained that this is not non-violence, and I take this occasion, when I am speaking about Tolstoy, to repeat that that is not the meaning of non-violence. Non-violence means an ocean of compassion, it means shedding from us every trace of ill-will for others. It does not mean abjectness or timidity, or fleeing in fear. It means, on the contrary, firmness of mind and courage, a resolute spirit.

We do not see this non-violence in the educated classes in India. For them Tolstoy's life should be a source of inspiration. He strove hard to put into practice what he believed in, and never turned back from his chosen path. I do not believe that he did not find that stick[1]. He himself said, of course, that he had failed to discover it, but that was his humility. I do not agree with his critics that he did not find that stick. I might perhaps agree if anyone asserted that he did not fully act upon the principle of non-violence of which he had had a glimpse. But, then, has there been anyone in this world who could act upon the principle of non-violence fully while he lived? I believe it impossible for one living in this body to observe non-violence to perfection. While the body endures, some degree of egotism is inescapable. We retain the body only so long as egotism persists. Bodily life, therefore, necessarily involves violence. Tolstoy himself said that anyone who believed that he had realized his ideal would be lost. From the moment he believed that, his fall would begin. The further we travel towards an ideal the further it recedes. As we advance in its search, we realize that we have one step after another to

[1] In his introductory remarks, Dr. Hariprasad had said that Tolstoy had failed to find the green stick with many virtues which his brother had advised him to discover.

climb. No one can climb all the steps in one leap. This view does not imply cravenness of spirit or pessimism but certainly there is humility in it. Hence our sages and seers said that the state of *moksha* meant utter emptiness. He who aspires after *moksha* must develop a state of such emptiness. One cannot attain this without God's grace. That state of emptiness can only remain an ideal as long as one lives in this body. The moment Tolstoy saw this truth clearly, grasped it with his intellect and started on his journey towards the ideal, he had found the green stick. He could not describe it, but could have only said that he had found it. If, however, he had in fact said that he had found it, progress in life would have been over for him.

The seeming contradictions in Tolstoy's life are no blot on him or sign of his failure. They signify the failure of the observer. Emerson has said that a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds. We would be utterly lost if we tried to live and show that there was no contradiction in our lives. In trying to live in that manner, we would have to remember what we did yesterday and then harmonize our actions today with that; in trying to preserve such forced harmony, we would have to resort to untruth. The best way is to follow the truth as one sees it at the moment. If we are progressing from day to day, why should we worry if others see contradictions in us? In truth, what looks like contradiction is not contradiction, but progress. And so, what seems to be contradiction in Tolstoy's life is really not contradiction, but only an illusion in our minds. Only the man himself knows how much he struggles in the depth of his heart or what victories he wins in the war between Rama and Ravana. The spectator certainly cannot know that. If the person slips ever so little, the world will think that there was nothing in him; this, of course, is for the best. One should not condemn the world on that account and so the saints have said that we should rejoice when the world speaks ill of us, but tremble with fear when it praises us. The world cannot act otherwise than it does; it must censure where it sees evil. But, whenever we examine the life of a great man, we should bear in mind what I have explained. God is witness to the battles he may have fought in his heart and the victories he may have won. These are the only evidence of his failures and successes.

By saying this, I do not wish to suggest that you should cover up your weaknesses, or, when they are as big as hills, think that they are as small as grains of sand. What I have said is in regard to other people. We should look upon others' weaknesses, huge as the Himalayas, to be as small as mustard seeds and ours,

as small as mustard seeds, to be as big as the Himalayas. When we become aware of the slightest lapse on our part or seem to have become guilty of untruth, intentionally or otherwise, we should feel as if we were burning, as if we were caught in flames. A snake bite or a scorpion sting is of little consequence; you will find many who can cure them. Is there anyone, however, who can cure us of the sting of untruth or violence? God alone can do that, and He will do it only if we strive in earnest. Hence, we should be vigilant against our weaknesses and magnify them to the utmost, so that, when the world censures us, we should not think that people were mean-minded and exaggerated our faults. If anyone pointed out a weakness in Tolstoy, though there could hardly be an occasion for anyone to do so for he was pitiless in his self-examination, he would magnify that weakness to fearful proportions. He would have seen his lapse and atoned for it in the manner he thought most appropriate before anyone had pointed it out to him. This is a sign of goodness, and I think, therefore, that he had found that stick.

Tolstoy drew people's attention to another thing through his writings and his life, and that is the idea of "bread labour". It was not his own discovery. Another author had mentioned it in a Russian Miscellany. Tolstoy made his name known to the world and also put before it his idea. The cause of the inequalities we see in the world, of the contrasts of wealth and poverty, lies in the fact that we have forgotten the law of life. That law is the law of "bread labour". On the authority of Chapter III of the *Gita*, I call it *yajna*. The *Gita* says that he who eats without performing *yajna* is a thief and sinner. Tolstoy has said the same thing. We should not distort the meaning of "bread labour" and forget the real idea. Its simple meaning is that he has no right to eat who does not bend his body and work. If every one of us did bodily labour to earn his food, we would not see the poverty which we find in the world. One idler is the cause of two persons starving, for his work has to be done by someone else. Tolstoy said that people came forward for philanthropic service, spent money for the purpose and earned titles as reward for their service, but he said it would be enough if, instead of all this, they did a little physical work and got off the backs of others. That is true indeed. In that lies humility. To do philanthropic service but refuse to give up one's luxuries is to act in the way described by Akha Bhagat, "Stealing an anvil and gifting a needle". Can we hope thereby to go up in a *viman*[1] to heaven?

[1] Flying machine

It is not that others have not said what Tolstoy said, but there was magic in Tolstoy's language, for he acted upon what he preached. He who was accustomed to the comforts of wealth started doing physical labour. He used to work on the farm or do other labour for eight hours a day. That does not mean that he gave up literary work. In fact, after he started doing physical labour his literary work came to have greater life in it. It was during spare time in this period of *yajna* that he wrote what he described as his most important work, *What Is Art?* Physical labour did not tell upon his health, and he believed that it sharpened his intellect. Students of his works will bear testimony that he was right.

If we wish to benefit from Tolstoy's life, we should learn these three things from it. I am addressing members of a youth association, and I wish to remind them that they have to choose between two paths in life: one of self-indulgence and the other of self-restraint. If you think that Tolstoy lived and died well, you will see that there is only one right path in life for all, especially for the young—and that is the path of self-control. That is particularly true in India. Swaraj is not something to be won from the Government. If you examine the causes of our degradation, you will see that we are more responsible for it than the Government. You will then see that the key to swaraj is in our hands, and not in England nor in Simla nor in Delhi. It is in your pocket and mine. Our lethargy is responsible for the delay in remedying the degradation and listlessness of our society. If we overcome that, there is no power on earth which can prevent us from raising ourselves and securing swaraj. We ourselves choose to lie helpless on the path and refuse to lift ourselves out of that condition. I should like to tell the members of the Youth Association that this is a golden time for them, or from another point of view, a hard time, a time of trial, if I put it in a third way. It is not enough that they pass university examinations and secure degrees. They will have secured real degrees only when they pass the examination of life and stand the test of hardships and difficulties. This is a period of transition, a golden time for you. You have two paths before you: one leading to the north and another to the south, one to the east and another to the west. You have to choose between the two. You must consider which path you will choose. All kinds of winds—poisonous winds, in my view—are blowing into the country from the West. There are, of course, some beautiful currents too, like Tolstoy's life. But these do not blow with every ship that arrives! You may say 'with every ship' or 'every day', for every day a ship arrives in the Bombay or

Calcutta port. Along with other foreign goods, foreign literature too arrives. Its ideas intoxicate people and draw them to the path of self-indulgence. I have no doubt about that. Do not be vain and believe that your thoughts, or what in your immaturity you have read in books and understood from them, are the only truth, that what is old is barbarous and uncivilized and that truth lies only in things newly discovered. If you suffer from such vanity, I don't think you will bring credit to your Association. If you have still not fulfilled my hope that you have learnt humility, culture, a sense of propriety and purity from Sarala Devi, do so in future. Do not be puffed up because you have been praised for some good things you have done. Run away from praise, and don't think that you have done much. If you collected money for Bardoli, worked hard and sweated for the cause, if a few of you went to jail for it, I ask you, as a man of experience, 'Is it much that you have done?' Others may say that you have, but you should not rest satisfied with what you have done. You have to purify your inner life, and it is from your conscience that you have to obtain a real certificate. Truly speaking our *atman* too is generally asleep. It was said by Tilak Maharaj that in our languages we have no word corresponding to 'conscience'. We do not believe that everyone has a conscience; in the West they do. What conscience can an adulterous or dissolute man have? Tilak Maharaj, therefore, rejected the idea of conscience. Our seers and sages of old said that one must have an inner ear to hear the inner voice, that one must have the inner eye, and must cultivate self-control to acquire these. Hence, in Patanjali's treatise on yoga, the first step prescribed for the student of yoga, for one aspiring after self-realization, is the observance of the disciplines of *yama-niyama*[1]. There is no path but that of self-control for you or me or others. Tolstoy showed this by leading a long life of self-control. I wish and pray to God that we should be able to see this as clearly as daylight, and should leave this meeting with a resolution that we shall learn the lesson of self-control from Tolstoy's life.

Let us resolve that we will never give up the pursuit of truth. To follow truth, the only right path in this world is that of non-violence. Non-violence means an ocean of love, whose vastness no one has ever been able to measure. If it fills us we would be so large-hearted that we would have room in it for the whole world. I know this is difficult to achieve, but not impossible. Thus we heard the poet say, in the prayer with which we commenced, that

[1] Rules of moral and ethical discipline

he would bow his head only to him who was free from attachment and aversion, who had overcome all desires and who was the perfect embodiment of non-violence, that is, love, whether he was named Shanker or Vishnu or Brahma or Indra or whether he was Buddha or Siddha[1]? Such non-violence is not limited to refraining from killing disabled creatures. It may be dharma not to kill them, but love goes infinitely further than that. What does it profit a person that he saves the lives of disabled creatures, if he has had no vision of such love? In God's court, his work will have little value.

The third thing is bread labour—*yajna*. We earn the right to eat only by putting the body to hard work, by doing physical labour. *Yajna* means any work done for the service of others. It is not enough that we do physical labour; we should live only in order that we may serve others, and not that we may run after immoral and worldly pleasures. If a young man who has trained his body with rigorous exercise spends eight hours every day in such exercise, he is not doing 'bread labour'. I do not belittle your doing exercise and training your body; but such exercise does not constitute the *yajna* which Tolstoy has advised and which is described in Chapter III of the *Gita*. He who believes that this life is for *yajna*, for service, will day by day give up running after pleasures. True human effort consists in striving to realize this ideal. It does not matter if no human being has succeeded in doing that to perfection; let the ideal ever remain distant from us. We should walk and break stones, as Farhad did for Shirin, our Shirin being the ideal of non-violence. This certainly holds our little swaraj, but it holds everything else too.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-9-1928

[1] One who has attained spiritual realization

303. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI[1]

[After *September 10, 1928*]

It will do if you send the Shraddhanand money to the Secretary, C/o *The Hindustan Times*, Delhi.

I have not got any letter from Bhai Purushottam.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine

304. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

September 12, 1928

CHI. BRIJKISHORE[2],

I have your letter. If your nephew has grown so overbearing it will do him good if one just has nothing to do with him. If you think it necessary, let him be paid a monthly allowance.

Build up your body. For this, the mind too has to be healthy!

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2359

305. MY ATTITUDE TOWARDS WAR

Rev. B. de Ligt has written in a French journal called *Evolution* a long open letter to me. He has favoured me with a translation of it. The open letter strongly criticizes my participation in the Boer War[3] and then the Great War[4] of 1914 and invites me to explain my conduct in the light of ahimsa. Other friends too have put the same question. I have attempted to give the explanation more than once in these columns.

There is no defence for my conduct weighed only in the scales of ahimsa. I draw no distinction between those who wield the wea-

[1] In reply to his letter dated September 10

[2] A slip for "Brajkisan" as this letter is included among Brijkrishna Chandiwala's original letters

[3] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 129, 137-41, 146-7, and 219-22.

[4] *Vide* Vol. XII, pp. 527-8, 533-4 and 548; and also Vol. XIV, pp. 380-1 and 439-43.

pons of destruction and those who do red-cross work. Both participate in war and advance its cause. Both are guilty of the crime of war. But even after introspection during all these years, I feel that in the circumstances in which I found myself I was bound to adopt the course I did both during the Boer War and the Great European War and for that matter the so-called Zulu "Rebellion"[1] of Natal in 1906.

Life is governed by a multitude of forces. It would be smooth sailing, if one could determine the course of one's actions only by one general principle whose application at a given moment was too obvious to need even a moment's reflection. But I cannot recall a single act which could be so easily determined.

Being a confirmed war resister I have never given myself training in the use of destructive weapons in spite of opportunities to take such training. It was perhaps thus that I escaped direct destruction of human life. But so long as I lived under a system of Government based on force and voluntarily partook of the many facilities and privileges it created for me, I was bound to help that Government to the extent of my ability when it was engaged in a war unless I non-co-operated with that Government and renounced to the utmost of my capacity the privileges it offered me.

Let me take an illustration. I am a member of an institution which holds a few acres of land whose crops are in imminent peril from monkeys. I believe in the sacredness of all life and hence I regard it as a breach of ahimsa to inflict any injury on the monkeys. But I do not hesitate to instigate and direct an attack on the monkeys in order to save the crops.[2] I would like to avoid this evil. I can avoid it by leaving or breaking up the institution. I do not do so because I do not expect to be able to find a society where there will be no agriculture and therefore no destruction of some life. In fear and trembling, in humility and penance, I therefore participate in the injury inflicted on the monkeys, hoping some day to find a way out.

Even so did I participate in the three acts of war. I could not, it would be madness for me to, sever my connection with the society to which I belong. And on those three occasions I had no thought of non-co-operating with the British Government. My position regarding that Government is totally different today and hence I should not voluntarily participate in its wars and I should

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, pp. 291-2, 361-2, 366-7 and 369-73.

[2] *Vide* "The Fiery Ordeal", 30-9-1928, sub-title "When Killing Is *Himsa*".

risk imprisonment and even the gallows if I was forced to take up arms or otherwise take part in its military operations.

But that still does not solve the riddle. If there was a national Government, whilst I should not take any direct part in any war, I can conceive occasions when it would be my duty to vote for the military training of those who wish to take it. For I know that all its members do not believe in non-violence to the extent I do. It is not possible to make a person or a society non-violent by compulsion.

Non-violence works in a most mysterious manner. Often a man's actions defy analysis in terms of non-violence; equally often his actions may wear the appearance of violence when he is absolutely non-violent in the highest sense of the term and is subsequently found so to be. All I can then claim for my conduct is that it was, in the instances cited, actuated in the interests of non-violence. There was no thought of sordid national or other interest. I do not believe in the promotion of national or any other interest at the sacrifice of some other interest.

I may not carry my argument any further. Language at best is but a poor vehicle for expressing one's thoughts in full. For me, non-violence is not a mere philosophical principle. It is the rule and the breath of my life. I know I fail often, sometimes consciously, more often unconsciously. It is a matter not of the intellect but of the heart. True guidance comes by constant waiting upon God, by utmost humility, self-abnegation, by being ever ready to sacrifice one's self. Its practice requires fearlessness and courage of the highest order. I am painfully aware of my failings.

But the Light within me is steady and clear. There is no escape for any of us save through truth and non-violence. I know that war is wrong, is an unmitigated evil. I know too that it has got to go. I firmly believe that freedom won through bloodshed or fraud is no freedom. Would that all the acts alleged against me were found to be wholly indefensible rather than that by any act of mine non-violence was held to be compromised or that I was ever thought to be in favour of violence or untruth in any shape or form. Not violence, not untruth, but non-violence, Truth, is the law of our being.

Young India, 13-9-1928

306. CONDONATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa Indian Congress sends me the following cable:

> Would-be condonees who were unable to leave India by the last boat may cable Comasia (telegraphic address of Commissioner of Asiatics), Pretoria, intention of applying for condonation giving registration domicile or identity certificate number before thirtieth September. Please give wide newspaper publicity throughout India.

This cable was sent to the Press as soon as it was received. Only those who are covered by the scheme published in these columns[1] may cable the particulars asked. I would strongly dissuade others from spending good money uselessly.

Young India, 13-9-1928

307. NOTES

Foreign Propaganda and Sarojini Devi

I am no believer in foreign propaganda as it is commonly understood, i.e., in the sense of establishing an agency or even sending peripatetic deputations. But the foreign propaganda that Sarojini Devi would carry on during her tour in the West would be the propaganda that would tell more than anything that could be done by an established agency whose very existence would be unknown to the indifferent and would be ignored by those whose opinion would matter to us. Not so India's Nightingale. She is known to the West. She would compel a hearing wherever she goes. She adds to her great eloquence and greater poetry a delicate sense of the true diplomacy that knows what to say and when to say it and that knows how to say the truth without hurting. We have every reason to expect much from her mission to the West. With the instinct of a gentlewoman she has gone with the resolution not to enter upon a direct refutation of Miss Mayo's insolent libel[2]. Her presence and her exposition of what India is and means to her would be a complete answer to all the untruth that has

[1] *Vide* Appendix II.

[2] The reference is to *Mother India*.

been dinned into the ready ears of the American public by agencies whose one aim is to belittle India and all that is Indian.[1]

RASHTRIYA STRI SABHA AND KHADI[2]

For years past this Sabha has been doing valuable propaganda for khadi among the fashionable citizens of Bombay and elsewhere through introducing artistic designs in khadi. Through this work the Sabha is supporting in the city of Bombay over 250 needy girls of all classes. It has five centres through which the work is distributed. Naturally these girls have to be paid regularly from month to month. Under the cash system insisted upon by the All-India Spinners' Association the Sabha is obliged to pay cash for all the khadi it buys. Experience has shown the Sabha that it must insist upon cash payment if it has to pay cash for work done and khadi bought. Moreover, all the sisters who are engaged in organizing this work are volunteers. It is therefore but right that they should expect khadi lovers who patronize their labours to pay cash for the orders they send. Shrimati Perinbai Captain has addressed on behalf of the Sabha a circular letter in which she commends to the buyers of the articles prepared by the Sabha the necessity for cash payment. There is no doubt that the Sabha deserves encouragement for the philanthropic and useful service it is rendering. Cash payment is the least encouragement that the Sabha has the right to expect. Those who buy these articles help not only the poorest among the villagers but also the needy girls of our cities.

Young India, 13-9-1928

308. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 14, 1928

MY DEAR C. R.,

I have your letter. I may not pay Rs. 60 for Keshu's board and tuition. At the same time I admit that Mr. Cox's terms are quite reasonable. Do please thank both Mr. Bjerrum and Mr. Cox. I am now making some other arrangements. I have not made up my mind what to do and Keshu is not here at present. When he returns from Rajkot, I shall know what to do.

[1] This was followed by a note entitled "First Offshoot of Bardoli", not reproduced here, as it had already appeared in *Navajivan*, 9-9-1928; *vide* pp. 251-2.

[2] A Gujarati article on the same subject appeared in *Navajivan*, 16-9-1928.

What is this that is going on in the Mysore State about Hindu-Muslim trouble? The *Times*[1] has almost always sensatio headlines and equally sensational reports utterly discrediting State. Is it all truthful, or is it a plot against the State? you know anything about what is appearing in the *Times*?

Mahadev returns about the 20th. I hope you are both m ing steady progress.

From a photostat: S.N. 13522

309. LETTER TO N. PATNAIK

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARM
September 14, 1

DEAR NIRANJAN BABU,

Here is my message:

"I hope that the tour of Orissa by Sir P. C. Ray and S Babu will bear, as it ought to bear, ample fruit. You should able to sell out the bulk of the accumulated stock. Poor as the lagers of Orissa are, those who live in the cities are not so p as not to be able to buy the khadi you have, if only they have will and love for the poverty-stricken in the land."

Yours sinc

SJT. NIRANJAN PATNAIK
SWARAJ ASHRAM, BERHAMPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13683

310. LETTER TO DR. S. C. BANERJEE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARM
September 14, 1

DEAR SURESH BABU,

I have your letter. This is what you said in the letter d 7th August in answer to which I sent the telegram:

> Herewith I am sending a copy of our Ashram report for 1927. shall be much obliged if you can kindly give publicity to it in some of *Young India* with suitable comments.

[1] *The Times of India*

It is this report that I sent for so as to enable me to deal with it in the pages of *Young India* as you desired.[1] I am still without that report.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13684

311. LETTER TO K. S. SUBRAMANIAM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 14, 1928

MY DEAR SUBRAMANIAM,

I have gone through the circular letter[2]. You will find in the enclosed the additions I have made.

With reference to the figures as to spinners, I think that it is necessary to have the census taken from year to year and as accurately as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: 1
SJT. K. S. SUBRAMANIAM
A.I.S.A., AHMEDABAD

[ENCLOSURE]

ADDITIONS TO THE CIRCULAR LETTER DATED JUNE 22, 1928

No. 28. Add after "Progress made":
also information as to whether spinning is done on wheels or *taklis*, and what is done with the yarn spun.

To have the following as Item No. 32:

The average condition of spinners, weavers, carders, giving how many days in the year they work at the rate of how many hours, their other occupation if any, and what is the average earning from their other occupation, when they are not spinning, or weaving or carding.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13686

[1] *Vide* "Abhoy Ashram", 27-9-1928.
[2] Of the All-India Spinners' Association

312. LETTER TO KIRBY PAGE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter with a translation copy of Rev. B. de Ligt's open letter. The writer sent it himself two weeks before your letter was received. He also wanted me to send my reply for his journal. But I thought that I would reach a wider circle of readers, that is, those who are in the habit of reading my writings, if I attempted a brief reply in the pages of *Young India*. This, therefore, I have done.[1] It was the best I could do in the time at my disposal. You may of course copy it for your paper. I send you a marked copy of *Young India* containing my reply.

Yours sincerely,

KIRBY PAGE, ESQ.
"THE WORLD TOMORROW"
52 VANDERBILT AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 14368

313. LETTER TO B. DE LIGT

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have now attempted a reply in the pages of *Young India* of which I send you a marked copy. You may of course translate it in *Evolution*. If the reply does not deal with any point you have raised, you will please not hesitate to tell me so.

Yours sincerely,

REV. B. DE LIGT
ONEX, GENEVA

From a photostat: S.N. 14395

[1] *Vide* "My Attitude towards War", 13-9-1928.

314. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

September 15, 1928

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

This will be presented to you by Mr. Mahomed Khan who was with me in South Africa. He is at present on the Railways. He has been ailing for some years. He once wanted a note to Hakim Saheb which I gave him. He tells me that Hakim Saheb's treatment gave him relief for the time being. He has again a relapse. He now wants a note to you, which I gladly give. I know you will give him what advice is possible.

Yours sincerely,

DR. M. A. ANSARI
1 DARYAGUNJ, DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13524

315. AHMEDABAD AND ITS DEAF AND DUMB

If, although I live near Ahmedabad, I hardly write anything about it, it is not because of my unwillingness but because of my inability to do so. I have often felt the urge to participate in the life of this city, but it has subsided every time. Friends suggested that I should enter the municipality and work in it. I should certainly like to, but I never had the courage to try. Let no resident of Ahmedabad believe that now, on the brink of death, I have acquired that courage. I have mentioned this only in order to admit that I have still to repay the debt that I owe to Ahmedabad.

Shri Pranshankar Desai is running a school for the deaf and dumb in Ahmedabad. I have been acquainted with it since 1915, i.e., ever since I came to live here. From that very time I have believed that such institutions should be located outside the city. This school will now move outside the city. In accordance with the wishes of Sheth Mangaldas, its foundation-stone was laid by me last week.[1] In my opinion, we are late by twenty years. The school was started twenty years ago. However, the choice of its site did not lie with Shri Pranshankar. It rested with the ruling

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Deaf and Dumb School, Ahmedabad", 7-9-1928.

deity of Ahmedabad. Speaking in today's terminology, it depended on the temper of the city. Just as those with a religious sentiment believe that the body has a soul, similarly they may als attribute a soul to the physical form of the city too, and regard i as its ruling deity. As the ruling deity of Ahmedabad is miserly he has huddled its residents together within a small area, has kep them in insanitary surroundings and thereby polluted its air. Tha deity alone knows how suffocated he must feel by keeping thes human beings in misery! In his essay on hygiene, Dr. Hariprasad ha stated that amongst the cities of India, Ahmedabad occupies th first place so far as the death rate or, in other words, so far a insanitation is concerned.

If the wealthy and the educated wish, they can change th face of Ahmedabad. The biggest Jain firm is in Ahmedabad. I is said that the firm of Anandji Kalyanji is wealthier than any othe firm in the world which can be described as a religious bod Ahmedabad is the capital of Gujarat and it is also the headquar ers of the Jains. It claims a monopoly of compassion for a living beings. However, it has still to learn real compassio Looking after cattle in some manner in crowded localities is narrow form of such compassion and its least expression. Th latter should be as wide as the ocean and, as the life-sustainin oxygen spreads its fragrance from the ocean all the hours of th day, so should the oxygen of compassion do and give happines peace and good health to human beings and all other livin creatures. However, it is not Jainism alone which enjoins the g of health. The Vaishnavas claim no less that they, too, rega it as their duty, and Islam accords no less honour to it. There a followers of these faiths too in Ahmedabad. All of them sha equally in Ahmedabad's shame.

There is so much wealth in Ahmedabad that it could tu this capital of Gujarat—of Gujarat which is famed for its beauty into physically and spiritually the healthiest place in India.

Nature has gifted Ahmedabad with such air and water th it could become a health resort. Its residents, however, pollu both these. The hospitals, temples, schools and orphanages Ahmedabad should be removed to places outside the city. narrow lanes should be relieved of the congestion in them. The should be small open spaces in the city. We ought to ha fragrance spreading all around instead of the stink that now p vades the city.

This task is not beyond the capacity of Ahmedabad's citize It does not require crores of rupees to be spent. Moreover, it h

been the experience of all cities in the world which have become prosperous that the amount spent is recovered twice over. It is true, of course, that the expenditure must be incurred wisely, in a spirit of charity and with pure motives. What is true of human beings is also true of cities. Their freedom lies in their own hands. The people's attitude and public opinion must change. In order to change them, leaders must make sacrifices. One person, Chamberlain, changed the face of Birmingham. Ahmedabad, too, needs a Chamberlain of its own. Or, as in France where the soldiers of the revolution fought without a leader, here too, if a Chamberlain does not come forward, cannot an organization like the Youth Association make sacrifices to purify the atmosphere in Ahmedabad and make its foul air fragrant?

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 16-9-1928

316. KHADI PROPAGANDA FUND

Shri Gopaldas Mathurawala has contributed Rs. 100 to this fund and while sending the amount he writes to say:

> You may use this amount for the propagation of khadi or for any other purpose. In no circumstances need it be returned.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 16-9-1928

317. MY NOTES

SAROJINI DEVI

Sarojini Devi left the shores of India last Wednesday to proceed to the United States of America. Many hope that, by establishing agencies in Europe, America and other continents or by sending our representatives there from time to time, we can present a true picture of India to the people of the West and thereby remove the false image of our country that is being projected there, but such hopes have always been disappointed. By adopting such a course, we would be misusing public funds and the time of persons whose services could be much better utilized at home. However, if anyone's visit to the West can be worth while it would certainly be that of Sarojini Devi or the great poet Rabindranath Tagore. Sarojini Devi is well known in the

West through her poems. She is gifted both as a poet and as an orator. She is also eminently tactful. She knows how to say the right thing at the right place and time. She has mastered the art of speaking the truth without hurting others. Wherever she goes, people are compelled to listen to her. She won the hearts of the Englishmen in South Africa by making full use of her powers there and, through her great success, smoothed the way for the delegation led by Sir Mohammed Habibullah.[1] The task there was a difficult one. But, recognizing her own limitations and accepting them, she avoided going into legal intricacies and adhered to the main facts; she thereby accomplished her task with fine success and raised the prestige of India. She will accomplish something of a similar nature in the U.S.A. and other countries. Her very presence there will act as a reply to the falsehoods spread by Miss Mayo. Her courage is as great as her other qualities. While going abroad she requires neither a co-worker to assist her nor a secretary. She is fearless and goes wherever she wishes to. This fearlessness of hers is not only worth emulation by other women but it even puts men to shame. We can certainly hope that her Western tour will be fruitful.

Kaka's Impatience

While sending me the prose-poem entitled "Yamunarani", which appears in this issue over Kakasaheb's signature, he writes to say:[2]

Kakasaheb has become impatient to impart true education to Gujarat. If this was not the case, after having written in praise of Gangamaiya two years ago, and having postponed the praise of "Yamunarani" so far, why should he suddenly insist that it should be published in this very issue? Moreover, he has left me with no freedom to refuse his request, since he has declared his intention of sending Gujarati rendering of the Sanskrit verses directly to the press and so bound my hands. In acting in this way, Kakasaheb has presumed that I am as impatient as he for the education of Gujarat. He was entitled to do so. Shri Nagindas and Shri Punjabhai's sacrifices have made us both impatient. To me, the Vidyapith does not mean only the structure of bricks on the west banks of the Sabarmati, or the handful of men and women students who receive a literary education and training in crafts in it. It is the task of the Vidyapith to spread true education

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXIV.

[2] The letter is not translated here.

among the old men and women and the boys and girls in villages. True education means a knowledge of one's true essence and conduct which befits such knowledge. It is Kakasaheb's aim to make such education available even to those who are illiterate. Hence this article, which was written some time ago, finds a place in *Navajivan* now. It is intended that lovers of the language and patriotic men and women would read it, understand it and persuade others to read it or explain it to them. The article is difficult for all readers to understand. The title itself is frightening. How many of us know the Kalindi to be the river Jamuna? Only a few persons in the villages would know the Jamuna as the Yamuna. However, as with the passing of time the patriotic sentiment grows the people will be more eager to have *darshan* of the Ganga and the Jamuna. All cannot go there, but they will get pleasure in reading such articles which will bring the Ganga and the Jamuna to their doorsteps and give them the feeling of having actually seen the rivers. The reader would earn the same merit as by bathing in the Ganga, if he purifies himself by entering into the spirit of these articles, whereas those who live on the banks of the Ganga and pollute its waters every day may be evil-doers and be piling up sins on their heads instead of accumulating merit.

To anyone who reads these articles in the spirit suggested above my advice is that he should keep a map beside him while reading them. The Vidyapith is preparing a dictionary[1] such as has never been attempted in the Gujarati language, so that such articles are easily understood. Till it is in the reader's hands, he should somehow find the meanings of words and make up his own dictionary.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 16-9-1928

318. BLIND FAITH

It is the khadi cause that Shri Harjivan Kotak is serving on behalf of the Charkha Sangh in Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir. But the heart of a khadi worker certainly melts at the sight of misery wherever he sees it. Hence, when the pilgrims to Amarnath suffered hardships due to excessive rain, he sent me a telegram.

[1] *Sarth Jodanikosh*

When I asked for details, I received the following reply[1]:

What a contrast between Amarnath and lorries! There was a time when pilgrims travelled on foot from Kanyakumari to Kashmir and then, after suffering many hardships, ascended Amarnath. Even in those days, there was danger to life. We have no figures about the number of people who in those days lost their dear lives while in quest of religious merit, as there were no figures about other things. That was a true pilgrimage.

Today, motor-lorries unload pilgrims at the foothills of Amarnath, just as they would unload goods and the pilgrims on their part regard it as a meritorious deed to travel in such comfort. The remaining distance has to be covered by foot or on horseback and this the pilgrims somehow manage to do. They would readily accept if anyone was prepared to carry them right up to their destination or go in an aeroplane if it would take them straight to the top of Amarnath.

Thus, human beings, while hankering after comforts, undergo hardships and even court death yielding to religious sentiments. This involves blind faith. Such faith craves for happiness but is prepared to undergo hardships, whereas pure, genuine faith finds happiness in undergoing physical suffering and hence it realizes that, while reaching Amarnath by aeroplane satisfies one's curiosity, it cannot be called a pilgrimage. Those having genuine faith would go walking barefoot and would disregard thorns, heat or cold, the danger from tigers or wolves and even though they might not reach Amarnath, they would acquire the same merit. Although the four ways of travelling by plane, by car, by train or on foot are open to them, they would feel happy in choosing the fourth alternative. When people acquire such determination, their dharma would acquire an altogether new form. Then it would make no distinction between the pilgrimage to Amarnath and that to swaraj. They would regard it as a religious merit to suffer hardships while going to Amarnath and also regard it as such to be sent to the gallows for the sake of swaraj. Those who retreat do not know their dharma.

A servant of the people has before him the unlimited field of the people's faith through which he can serve them. Vallabhbhai has discovered this. He taught the people that it was their dharma to offer non-violent resistance to the Government. The people were

[1] This is not translated here. About 5,000 men, women and children, going on a pilgrimage to Amarnath, were caught in torrential rains which lasted a week and disrupted all communications.

attracted by the word dharma; they truly found their dharma in *satyagraha* and they understood the true meaning of pilgrimage. True pilgrimage is within the heart, it consists in cheerfully accepting and enduring hardships.

The reader will see that I have not asked for help for relieving the suffering of the pilgrims to Amarnath and I have not even expressed sympathy for them. There is no possibility of any assistance reaching them; whatever little could be given would have been locally available. Those who have lost their lives are gone and those who have survived will be safe when they reach the foothills. The incident that took place at Amarnath is a common occurrence to those people who climb great mountain-peaks.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 16-9-1928

319. HOW TO CELEBRATE FESTIVALS

On the occasion of the festival of *Paryushan* two gentlemen from Bombay have sent me a bill of exchange worth Rs. 75, for being utilized in any good cause. This sum will be used for the benefit of our *Antyaja* brothers and sisters. While celebrating festivals, we generally waste money on ourselves, on indulging in pleasures, on good food and drink for ourselves and our friends. Instead of that, it is better to follow the practice adopted by these gentlemen and others mentioned in *Navajivan*. Our dharma as well as our wealth, our self-interest as well as the public good would be better served if the whole or part of the amount spent on pomp and feasts during deaths, marriages, births, etc., is saved and a half of this is given away for the service of the community. Many people are prevented from doing so only by fear of public opinion. It is to be hoped that those who are not afraid of the bogy of public opinion and have understood what I have said will follow the example mentioned above.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 16-9-1928

320. TELEGRAM TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

ASHRAM, SABARMA
September 17, 19

VALLABHBHAI PATEL
HOTEL CECIL, SIMLA

LYALLPUR PEOPLE SAY YOU HAVE AGREED PRESIDE[1] I CONSENT. HAVE NO IRREVOCABLE OBJECTION IF YO THINK YOU CAN SPARE TIME AND HAVE INCLINATIO

BA

From a photostat: S.N. 14863

321. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY, PUNJAB POLITICAL CONFERENCE

ASHRAM, SABARMA
September 18, 19

SECRETARY
PUNJAB POLITICAL CONFERENCE
LYALLPUR

YOUR WIRE. WIRED[2] VALLABHBHAI WHO SAYS HE H NEITHER INCLINATION NOR TIME PRESIDE. AM POWERLE UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES.

GAND

From a photostat: S.N. 14864

322. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

September 18, 19

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letters. I say nothing more, as I expect w shall meet on 25th.

BAP

From a photostat: G.N. 1596

[1] Over the Punjab Political Conference

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

323. PRISON TREATMENT

The Director of Information in his communique dated 12th September, 1928, has attempted a reply to the article[1] in *Young India* of 16th August regarding the food served out to prisoners at the Sabarmati Central Jail. He boldly says that these statements are incorrect. It is perfectly clear from the communique that he has not made the inquiry himself but his opinion is based upon the statements supplied to him by the very parties who are accused of neglect. It is unnecessary for me to refute the statement that the health statistics in the prisons of India compare favourably with the statistics of the population living outside. This is an admitted fact, for the simple reason that the laws of sanitation are undoubtedly better enforced in the prisons than outside. But better sanitation does not prove more humaneness or more consideration for the prisoners. My point is that there is absence of the human touch about the whole of the prison system. And it seems to me to be wholly beside the point to mention that the general health of the inmates of prisons is better than outside, and I claim that even this statement becomes untenable when applied to the class of prisoners from whom satyagrahis are drawn. It was open to the Director to say, if he had so chosen, that the satyagrahis knew that there would be no humanity to be found inside the prison walls. Statements such as I made in the article in question had point. Because the claim is often made that the prisoners in Indian prisons are treated humanely and that as much consideration as is possible to give to prisoners is given in these jails.

With regard to the specific statements made in the Director's communique I can only give extracts from the statements made by the released prisoners, every one of whom I hold to be far more reliable than all the jail authorities put together. The statements were made by the satyagrahis on their discharge from the jail in reply to my request about the treatment, and when I saw with my own eyes the shattered constitution of Sjt. Chinai whom I knew to be in possession of excellent health and when I saw a Vidyapith lad Dinkar suffering from an obstinate fever which, but for the extraordinarily good nursing and able medical aid he

[1] *Vide* "Our Jails", 16-8-1928.

had the good fortune to receive after being discharged from t prison, might have proved fatal.

I shall take the first extract from the statement made by S Sanmukhlal, a well-known man of Valod who got dysente twice as a result of bad food:

> The greens served out were wretched beyond description. . . . L simply stank in one's nostrils so much so that I had to discontinue taki it. When it was exhausted, radishes and a hotchpotch of dry leaves l those of cabbage, etc., were substituted in its place with the result tl soon after many prisoners began to suffer from bowel complaints in lar numbers. But nobody could muster sufficient courage to lodge a cc plaint about it to the Superintendent. I even heard from some prison that one of the prisoners was given bar-fetters for several months for ma ing such a complaint. . . .
>
> Things improved a little after some time. . . . Pumpkin and onio and later *turiya* and *gowar* were introduced in the vegetable fare; *gowar* and *turiya* were hard and stringy being over-ripe, but even so w picked out and regarded by the prisoners as a delicacy.
>
> The *juwar* bread was only half-baked and so full of grit that it co hardly be chewed and had to be swallowed. This was especially the c when the grinding stones of the flour mills were freshly dented. A result of this food I got dysentery, almost half of our number sharing t same fate with me.

Sjt. C. L. Chinai in his statement repeats the same story:

> The food did not agree with me and I began to get stoma ache and finally had diarrhoea, sometimes getting as many as 30 or motions in a day. Whenever I took the greens they invariably gave diarrohea. Thus I began fast to lose my weight. When I complair about it to the doctor he said that I should give up taking the green I wanted to keep fit, which I did and from that time till the end mained on bread and water only. I did not complain about it to Superintendent because he never paid any heed to the complaints of t prisoners regarding food. I even heard that there had been cases of p soners being punished for making such complaints. Therefore nob dared to take the matters before the authorities.

Even Sjt. Ravishankar Vyas with his iron constitution w driven to say in his statement:

> The greens consisted of dry, tough, leathery leaves with an adm ture of pumpkin. To eat it was to court certain stomach-ache.

Sjt. Chinai was given hard labour beyond his capacity a consequently he had attacks of giddiness, but for twenty days

could not get the medicine that he needed. He lost over 20 lb. in weight during his incarceration. Similarly, Govind Gosain who was already in a poor state of health when he was sentenced came out of jail in such a weak condition that he could scarcely keep steady on his legs.

I have given only the briefest extracts from the statements in my possession. If the authorities are serious, I shall have much pleasure to send them all the statements and any further proof that they may need. Refutations such as the Director of Information has made, I feel sure, carry no weight with the public, certainly do not improve the condition of the prisoners, nor make for humaneness in the prisons. The first condition of humaneness is a little humility and a little diffidence about the correctness of one's conduct and a little receptiveness. One misses all the three in the Director's refutation.

Young India, 20-9-1928

324. HOW I DISCOVERED THE SPINNING-WHEEL

A friend who has been studying the All-India Spinners' Association organization after having studied a centre in Karaikudi (Tamilnad) writes:

> This (Uttukuli) is a heavy production centre for hand-spinning and weaving. I have half picked up this work here. There are about a thousand spinners. I have gone about the villages and met many of them in their own little cottages. Every day that passes makes me marvel the more as to how you discovered the spinning-wheel. I am very much tempted to ask if you could not kindly tell in the pages of *Young India* when and how exactly you re-discovered the wheel. It is so little and so big at the same time. It reminds me of the rain drops — each so tiny by itself but together "the mighty ocean". Nothing is more wrong than to think that you have asked India to spin and that India has begun to spin driven to do so by you. The truth is rather that the millions in the villages have driven you to it — to be their agent for disposing of all their yarn. I am daily watching crowds of old women and girls coming with their yarn. They come with smiling faces, their precious yarn clutched to their hearts. And khadi is retouching slowly into life just those vital parts of our national being that have been touched almost into death by this most soulless of exploitations. I realize now as never before the truth of your words when you said that the world would some day accept khadi as the noblest of your works.

He is right when he says that the toiling, starving millions dr me to it. It was in London in 1909[1] that I discovered the whee had gone there leading a deputation from South Africa. It then that I came in close touch with many earnest Indians— dents and others. We had many long conversations about the cor tion of India and I saw as in a flash that without the spinni wheel there was no swaraj. I knew at once that everyone had spin. But I did not then know the distinction between the lo and the wheel and in *Hind Swaraj*[2] used the word loom to mean wheel. This is what I have said in the concluding chapter of booklet:

> We will get nothing by asking; we shall have to take what we w and we need the requisite strength for the effort and that strength be available to him only who:
>
> 2. if a lawyer, will give up his profession, and take up a handlo (spinning-wheel);
>
> 8. although a doctor, will take up a handloom (spinning-wheel);
>
> 10 if a wealthy man will devote his money to establishing ha looms (spinning-wheels), and encourage others to use hand-made goods wearing them himself.

The words are as true today as they were in 1909 when booklet was written. Today not only are lawyers, doctors a others spinning by way of sacrifice but they are also organizing movement. But alas, they are yet far too few for the purpose waking the millions from their helpless lethargy. The vast majo are still standing aside. They seem to be waiting for a catast phe greater than the one that is happening in front of the They seem to await the simultaneous destruction of millions produce in them a shock that would move them to action. Be t as it may, there is no organic swaraj until the starving millions its glow. They will not feel it until the living contact is establis between them and us the vocal class who literally bleed them order that we may live.

But to return to the wheel. Though the wheel was discove to the mental vision in 1909, it saw work only in 1918, after th years' patient and strenuous effort. The first khadi vow (very mu adulterated to suit the fashionable sisters of Bombay) was taken 1919[3]. The wheel found a place in the Congress programme

[1] The source has "1908".
[2] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 6-64.
[3] *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 305-8.

1921[1]. The history of the movement since then is an open book still being written in the lives of the two thousand odd organizers and nearly seventy thousand spinners in whose lives the wheel has brought a ray of hope. Were we not under the hypnotic and desolating spell of the city civilization, we would realize through our hearts that only a little combined, conscious and honest effort in the shape of work is required to take the wheel to every cottage in India. Multiply the return of one wheel by say one hundred million and the result will convince the most confirmed unbeliever of its potency. But probably he will refuse to be willing and say: "What you say is true as an arithmetical problem, it is wholly untrue as a practical proposition." You can only take a willing horse to the trough. But a true spinner must have unlimited patience. He does not give in. The answer to the question propounded by the friend therefore perhaps should be: "The wheel is still being discovered." I know that it shall be one day, for there are some in this country who are prepared to pay for the discovery with their lives.

Young India, 20-9-1928

325. *COW-PROTECTION TRUE AND FALSE*

I commend this powerfully written article[2] to the attention of everyone who would know the inwardness of cow-worship in India.

Young India, 20-9-1928

326. *MY NOTES*

Thursday [September 20, 1928]

HINDU-MUSLIM FIGHT IN GODHRA

On Wednesday, I received a postcard from Godhra informing me that, in the fighting that took place there between Hindus and Muslims on the occasion of the *Paryushan* festival, Shri Wamanrao Mukadam, Shri Purushottamdas Shah and some other Hindus have been seriously injured. Today, that is, on Thursday, at the time of writing this, I received a telegram informing me of Shri

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXII, p. 380.

[2] By Pyarelal. For extracts, *vide* Appendix IV.

Purushottamdas's death. I am aware of my inability to do anything besides expressing my sympathy to the bereaved family and I am sorry on this account. Hence I write nothing these days on this subject near my heart. I do not believe I have the right to say anything on it. I have come to the conclusion that the medicine I have is wanted by neither side. I have no other medicine with me except non-violence and love. At present it is not possible for me to explain the efficacy of this medicine to anyone. Hence I believe and am aware that silence is proper for me. My silence is my sole contribution to the efforts for unity. But this silence does not mean indifference. As I believe in prayer, I ceaselessly pray to God to give wisdom to both the communities and ordain that unity of hearts be established among them. If this prayer is sincere, I am bound sooner or later to find some means of ending this enmity.

DISCOUNT IN KHADI PRICES FOR A LIMITED PERIOD

The organizer of the Shuddha Khadi Bhandar on Ritchie Road in Ahmedabad writes to say that khadi will be sold at a reduced rate as follows[1] from the 10th to the 20th of October:

Besides these, some other varieties such as shawls, saris, prints, towels, handkerchiefs, dhotis, caps, fine as well as coarse khadi of small and large widths and woollen material of various types will be sold at a discount ranging from 6½% to 12½%.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-9-1928

327. TELEGRAM TO AMRITLAL THAKKAR

[*September 20, 1928*][2]

AMRITLAL THAKKAR
GODHRA

DEEPLY DISTRESSED SHAH'S DEATH. PRAY CONVEY CONDOLENCE FAMILY.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 14776

[1] The table of rates is not reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

328. CABLE TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

[*September 20, 1928*][1]

RIGHT HONOURABLE SASTRI
PRETORIA

PRAY INTEREST YOURSELF ABOOBAKER'S PRETORIA PROPERTY. OMER JHAVERI HIS BROTHER WILL SEE YOU. PROPERTY WAS MATTER PUBLIC SETTLEMENT OF 1908. IT MUST BE PRESERVED FOR HEIRS AND SUCCESSORS.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 11961

329. CABLE TO OMER JHAVERI

[*September 20, 1928*][2]

OMER JHAVERI
DURBAN

CABLED SASTRIJI. SEE HIM.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 11961

330. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 21, 1928

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your letters. I am not taking any interest in the Statutory Commission. I see no truthfulness about anything emanating from the Commission. Sir John Simon's letters have a false ring about them, and if he is not wilfully untruthful, he is certainly kept absolutely in the dark about the true nature of things.

Mahadev is returning today from Simla. I am glad he had a little bit of rest and detachment from the routine work. In Simla, of course, he wrote the chapters for his forthcoming book

[1] & [2] From a typewritten copy (S.N. 11987)

on Bardoli. Vallabhbhai too is returning today from Simla also Swami. They were all however fed up with the Simla mosphere.

Devdas is in Delhi. Krishnadas is with Ram Binod in Bi Pyarelal and Subbiah are here. Mirabehn goes next week o brief tour. She wants to see the khadi depots. I do hope you will overwork yourself there.

Here are some letters received from Italy.

Love.

Mo

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.
112 GOWER STREET, LONDON, W.C. 1

From a photostat: G.N. 2630

331. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARM
September 21,

MY DEAR JAYAKAR,

I have your letter. Mahadev has talked to me about the made to you. He sent me a brief letter also but asked me to till his arrival before I replied. I am able therefore to sleep the thing and after the fullest consideration have come to conclusion that you should not accept the offer. I am of opi that the Viceroy should consult Sastri[1] himself as to his succe but if he does not do so, Maharaja Kunwar Singh should go. a most difficult job and can only be filled by one who has conviction that connection with the British Empire is good should last. It is difficult to explain the reasons behind this position, but I am sure you will have no difficulty in underst ing my viewpoint.

Yours since
M. K. GA

From a photostat: S.N. 1995

[1] V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Agent-General of Government of Inc South Africa

332. *LETTER TO E. C. DEWICK*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 21, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and copies of the July and the April numbers of the *Student World*.

I note what you say about the Conference[1] at Mysore in December. I am yet unable to give you any definite reply. And, of course, I have warned you against building anything on the hope of my being able to attend the Conference.

Yours sincerely,

REV. E. C. DEWICK
5 RUSSELL ROAD, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13529

333. *LETTER TO CHOITHRAM P. GIDWANI*

September 21, 1928

DEAR DR. CHOITHRAM,

It is impossible for me to move out of the Ashram at the present moment and Vallabhbhai's hands are really full. In my opinion, it is better to spare Vallabhbhai just now. Let him work up the constructive programme in Bardoli. It is really more difficult than the struggle with the Government. All the same I shall put your letter before Vallabhbhai and ask him to write to you.

Yours sincerely,

DR. CHOITHRAM P. GIDWANI
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a photostat: S.N. 13530

[1] Of the World's Student Christian Federation

334. LETTER TO DHANWANTRI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 21, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letters. The message that I can send to the Students' Union is:

"Do not fear the Government or any other power that may come in your way. Go forward and build a strong link between yourself and the toiling millions who do not even know the meaning of the word education."

Yours sincerely,

SJT. DHANWANTRI
SECRETARY, LAHORE STUDENTS' UNION, LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 13531

335. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

September 21, 1928

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

I have your postcard. . . .[1] is a scamp. He is not truthful when he says that he has walked all the way from here to Calcutta to meet you. He has been going to several places; among them was Brindaban from where he wrote saying that he was practically fixed up. He is good-hearted but he is thoroughly untrustworthy.

I showed your letter[2] about Ram Binod to Rajendra Babu who was here on his return from Europe. He is of opinion that some step will be necessary.

SJT. KRISHNADAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 13689

[1] Name omitted
[2] Dated August 30; *vide* "Letter to Krishnadas", 10-9-1928.

336. LETTER TO AMY TURTORE

September 21, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter as also the beautiful piece of linen. Here is a sample of what is being done here.

I thank you also for your prayers. I am forwarding our correspondence to Mr. Andrews.[1]

Yours sincerely,

M. AMY TURTORE
CAMOLLIA, 47 SIENA, ITALY

From a microfilm: S.N. 14398

337. LETTER TO JETHALAL JOSHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 21, 1928

BHAI JETHALAL,

The means of overcoming desire explained in the *Gita* is God's grace, and that is obtained through worship of Him.

About your intention to join the Vidyapith, you should meet Kakasaheb. The highest salary it pays is Rs. 75. If you can live within that figure, perhaps Kakasaheb can accommodate you. According to me, you cannot live in the Ashram unless you agree to observe *brahmacharya.*

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1344

[1] *Vide* "Letter to C. F. Andrews", 21-9-1928.

338. *LETTER TO J. S. AKARTE*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABA
September 22,

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. There is no doubt about it that the young men stand up against child-marriage and enforce opposition whenever they get an opportunity, the sooner th will be removed. I have so often noticed this matter i pages of *Young India* that I do not think it necessary to deal the special case of your caste.

Yours s

SJT. J. S. AKARTE
SENIOR B.A. CLASS, HISLOP COLLEGE, NAGPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13532

339. *LETTER TO N. LAKSHMI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABA
September 22,

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. For the present I can only suggest t that you should continue your reading of the *Gitanjali*, and to it a brief reading of the *Gita*.

Your questions do not need any answer if you are a re reader of *Young India*.

Yours si

SRIMATI N. LAKSHMI
MEDICAL SCHOOL, VELLORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13533

340. LETTER TO RAMANAND CHATTERJEE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 22, 1928

DEAR RAMANAND BABU,

I thank you for your letter. I am ashamed to have to confess that I have not yet been able to approach Dr. Sunderland's manuscript. I have kept it on my desk and it always stares me in the face. But I do not know when I shall be able to go through it.

I will keep the corrections you have sent me with manuscript.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAMANAND CHATTERJEE
EDITOR, "MODERN REVIEW"
91 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13534

341. LETTER TO BHOGILAL

September 22, 1928

BHAISHRI BHOGILAL,

This is my argument, in the fewest possible words, about my deliberately killing the calf.[1]

1. The calf was in great pain. It had been under doctors' treatment and they had given up all hopes. We could give it no help. Four or five men were required to turn it on its side, and even then this caused it pain. In this condition, I thought that dharma lay in killing it.

2. I see dharma in applying to human beings, in similar circumstances, the rule which I apply to other creatures. There are fewer occasions of acting in that way towards human beings, because we have more means of helping them and more knowledge for doing so. But history tells of occasions, and we can imagine others, in which there might be non-violence in killing a person, in the same way that there is non-violence in an operation performed by a surgeon.

[1] *Vide* "The Fiery Ordeal", 30-9-1928.

3. The argument that he who cannot create life has no right to destroy it and that no one can violate another's dharma does not apply in a case like this. That argument can be advanced only for the purpose of preventing violence, that is, cruelty. It may be itself an act of violence to advance such an argument to a person about whose non-violent motives we have no doubt at all, for it is likely to confuse the reason of such a person if he is not vigilant enough and may dissuade him from performing an act of non-violence.

4. It is necessary to bear three points in mind in order to understand the non-violence of the act in question: (1) It is ignorance to believe that every act of killing is violence. (2) As there is violence in killing, so also there is violence in inflicting what we regard as lesser suffering. (3) Violence and non-violence are mental attitudes, they concern the feelings in our heart. A slap given through anger is pure violence, whereas a slap given to a person bitten by a snake to keep him awake is pure non-violence.

Many other arguments can be deduced from this. If you wish to ask me any question exclusively concerning dharma, please do. You can use this letter in any place and in any manner you wish to. My only aim in life is to discover dharma, know it and follow it. I do not wish to breathe a single moment if I cannot do that.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 11811

342. ATROCITIES BY OFFICIALS

A correspondent from Dholka writes:[1]

Such atrocities should be a matter of surprise, if not in India, at any rate in Gujarat. It is in the fitness of things that the Dholka Taluk Committee has undertaken the task of putting an end to the atrocities of the police. The Congress Committees are committed to such work. However, it is the least part of the work of these committees to register a complaint before the collector or to go to the law-courts and demand justice. However, where

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that an orphan lad suspected of theft was severely beaten by the police. Farmers were harassed in order to extort tax. When the incidents were reported to the authorities the people did not come forward to tell the truth.

this becomes inevitable, such work may certainly be done. The real task to be done is to follow the example of Bardoli. That is to say, to live among the people and give them training in fearlessness. Such training cannot be imparted by means of speeches alone, but by being fearless oneself and infecting the others with such fearlessness. In order that this feeling may spread, some kind of useful constructive activity must be carried on amidst the people, without which one cannot come into contact with them, enter into their lives and win their confidence. The fact that khadi activity is the most effective one for coming into contact with every family living within one's area is becoming increasingly clear every day. While carrying on such activity, one must come into contact with the *talati* and the police as well. Since they too wear clothes, the message of khadi should reach them also. The atrocities of the police and the *talatis* can be ended by an appeal to their hearts. Such atrocities will not be averted if one policeman or *talati* is punished. However, a change may be brought about in their conduct if they are made aware of the fact that although they hold the posts of policeman or *talati*, they are nevertheless the friends or rather the servants of the people. The local police and the *talati* of Bardoli became friendly with the people as soon as the latter became fearless. Boycott is a much better weapon of non-co-operation than either punishment or complaint; however, this weapon should be used only by those who know no fear. Hence I would request the Dholka Taluk Committee to continue their task of seeking justice from the law-courts or the collector if they regard this as inevitable but, at the same time, vigorously and patiently to take up the task of making the people fearless. It will find from experience while doing so that office work and constructive work cannot be combined. In trying to do the one, the other will have to be given up. It is perhaps necessary to introduce well-known leaders to the people in cases where the latter feel suppressed and timid.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 23-9-1928

343. POLICY OF MAKING KHADI SELF-SUPPORTI

I would like to draw the attention of readers to the entitled "Khadi Work in Bijolia" appearing in this issue. been published as it was sent by Shri Jethalal with no c —except for a few minor verbal changes. I hope no one v scared by the length of the article. Shri Jethalal is one very few persons among us who are crazy about khadi. B word, the *Gita* implies one who loses one's heart and soul in work. The country is in dire need of persons who are wholly ded to the work which they have taken up as a form of public s Moreover, in this field we have achieved success sooner in than elsewhere. It is the duty of every worker in the cause of to know how and to what extent this success has been ach I have published the entire article for this reason. The read see clearly that at the root of the success of this work lie un ing devotion to khadi and the resultant patience and deter tion. The following portion of the article deserves to be not everybody.

> It must be stated here that we had decided to practise su cipline as if we had gone crazy about khadi, or that we did no or understand anything except khadi. The people did not welco preaching of khadi; they would hesitate to commit themselves as something which involved action. We saw with our own eyes tions which deprived one of one's humanity — disease, immorali social and political unrest. As soon as we stopped talking abo subject and the conversation turned to other subjects, we ceased any interest in it. We used to think that the strength of our arg regarding khadi would be lost if we took interest in other matters

It is only such devoted persons who joyfully put up "the cold of a winter morning, the fierce heat of a summer noon, and the continuous downpour during the monsoon a as knee-deep mud" that can take the message of khadi t people. In the words of Shri Jethalal, the leisure hours of th mer are the "active season" for khadi workers and the succ the task depends upon doing what has to be done just in particular season.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-9-1928

344. *NATIONAL SCHOOL AT BOMBAY*

The handful of national schools which have survived in the country are comely to the eyes of a spectator even as a little lake would look beautiful in a dry arid desert. The national school at Bombay is one of these. That school has had to function in the face of many difficulties, which persist even today. The chief among them is lack of funds. There are difficulties in the way of the Vidyapith subsidizing these schools wholly under strict rules. It has been a policy of the Vidyapith not to provide any aid to schools where the teachers are unable to collect funds. If the Vidyapith itself is to become self-supporting at any time, it will have to be increasingly strict in its adherence to this rule. It is necessary to understand the meaning of the word "self-supporting" in this context. It implies a school which can meet its own expenses with ease on the strength of the reputation enjoyed by its Principal and the other teachers. The best form of self-support is for the students of such national schools to earn through their own efforts enough to meet the expenses of their schools. Such self-support is not beyond my visualization. In the United States of America, innumerable students earn enough to pay their fees and their schools subsist upon them. In India, many schools running under Government patronage bear their own expenses and those who run them earn fairly good money. The reason for this is obvious. Government-sponsored education has a set market value and the demand for this education exceeds the Government's capacity or intention to provide it. National education has yet to have its market-value determined. If this had been done, we would have been enjoying swaraj today. However, the "self-support" that I visualize is higher than that of the schools which are run under Government patronage, as it is also distinct from that which is to be found in the U.S.A.

This country needs an industrial climate. In the education of this country, the vocational aspect should constitute its dominant part. When this takes place, the students who will go on learning a craft will support their schools through it. Shri Madhusudan Das had conceived such a plan with regard to his tannery in Cuttack. The plan was a fine one. But it did not materialize as the prevailing atmosphere in the country provided no encouragement to vocational training or a tannery. Why should not carpentry be an indispensable part of our higher educa-

tion? Education without a knowledge of weaving would be comparable to the solar system without the sun. Where such trades are being properly learnt, the students should be able to meet the expenses of their own schools. For this scheme to succeed, the students should have physical strength, will-power and a favourable atmosphere created by the teachers. If a weaver could become a Kabir, why cannot other weavers become, if not Kabirs, at any rate, Gidwanis, Kripalanis or Kalelkars? If a cobbler could become a Shakespeare, why cannot other cobblers become, if not great poets, at any rate, experts in the fields of chemistry, economics and such other subjects? It is very necessary to understand that, by regarding vocational training as something that is opposed to intellectual education, we are labouring under a great misapprehension and that thereby we are retarding the progress of the people. The Vidyapith has taken in hand the task of explaining this fact. In the mean time, those who have faith in national education should help institutions like the national school in Bombay to the best of their ability. And if the citizens of Bombay will not provide this help, who else will? I hope that no one will excuse himself on the ground that business in Bombay is slack. The citizens of Bombay may be suffering from many shortcomings, but I have not yet discerned in them that of miserliness. Hence I hope that the patriotic citizens of Bombay will fill Acharya Gokulbhai's purse and free him from worries.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 23-9-1928

345. COMMUNITY FEASTS

Shri Manilal Chhatrapati writes from Jambusar to say that on the occasion of a *simant* in his family, he finally gathered the courage not to hold a feast for his own caste-members. I congratulate him on it. Such courage in Congress workers should not be regarded as a matter of surprise. There is only one thing that is required for developing such courage: Disregard of or unconcern at being declared outcaste. To be excommunicated implies that one cannot attend caste-feasts, etc., and one cannot marry one's sons or daughters within that caste. When we wish to boycott all feasts, we should consider ourselves fortunate if we receive no invitations at all. Moreover, if one's sons and daughters cannot be betrothed within one's caste, caste barriers can

readily be broken down. If the country is to rise, those barriers have necessarily to be done away with. Hence reformers like Shri Manilal Chhatrapati need fear nothing. These feasts reduce civilized persons to the level of aborigines, they are a crushing burden for the poor and are a blot on our country. The fact that even those who are well off long for these feasts is something certainly unbecoming. Hence, with more reformers like Manilal Chhatrapati, these customs will gradually decline. A portion of the money that is saved on such feasts should be used by reformers for public service and in the wholesome service of those who wish to remain within the bounds of the caste. Wherever the *mahajan* acts out of ignorance, it forfeits its high status and no longer deserves respect. Hence those who give donations must be careful to see that the amount given for reforms within the caste is properly utilized.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 23-9-1928

346. *LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 23, 1928

BHAISHRI NANABHAI,

I have your letter. I cannot decide which day is my birthday. Formerly there was only one day, now there are many days. According to the Tilak calendar, the birthday falls on a particular date. I did not know about this at all. According to the Christian calendar, it falls on another date. According to the Sanatana, the Saur and the Sayan calendars, it falls on still other dates. And yet more methods of reckoning may be discovered in future. If everyone would celebrate the day by spinning, as you do, I would not grumble even if every day was my birthday. Bombay does not seem to agree with Kishorelal. Manilal and Sushila seem to be completely absorbed in each other in Phœnix.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6676

347. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI

SABARMATI,
September 24, 1928

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Mahadev has just returned from Simla. He tells me you have written in the papers that I sought by every means at my disposal to keep Shuaib out from the Nehru Committee. I have not been following the disputes between you and Dr. Ansari. I have read and that cursorily only one of your letters to the Press. Hence my missing the above titbit. Well, it is news to me that I tried to keep Shuaib out. I do not even remember what I said about him and others. All I know is that I never dreamt of keeping Shuaib out of anything. I have too much regard for his honesty and independence to wish to keep him out. And you ought to know my nature. I never even keep out opponents and if I want to, I say so. What led you to think that I wanted to keep Shuaib out with a purpose?

If it is merely a matter of feeling, time alone coupled with my own future conduct can cure you of the feeling.

Having heard the story from Mahadev, I thought I owed it to you to set you right, if my word could do so.

I must confess that the only letter of yours to Dr. Ansari that I read, I did not like at all. I thought it was so unnecessary. But I did not feel it right to say anything to you about it. I know you to be too good not to make amends if and when you see your error. Even your errors make you lovable so long as I retain the opinion which I do, that you are truthful and fear God. Why should I worry over what I may hold to be your error, seeing that I err often enough and need the indulgence of friends and foes alike?

With love,

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13692

348. TELEGRAM TO SHYAMNARAIN[1]

[*September 25, 1928*]

SHYAMNARAIN
PROSECUTING INSPECTOR, MEERUT CITY

ARRIVED SAFE. DETAINING PENDING YOUR ARRIVAL.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 14780

349. TELEGRAM TO CHOITHRAM P. GIDWANI[2]

[*September 25, 1928*]

DR. CHOITHRAM
HYDERABAD (SIND)

VALLABHBHAI GONE BARDOLI. DIFFICULT LEAVE POST.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 14781

350. 'STARTLING CONCLUSIONS'

William R. Thurston, according to the publisher's preface, was a Major in the United States army, which he served for nearly ten years. And, during these years, he had varied experiences in several parts of the world, including China. During his travels he studied the effects of marriage laws and customs, as a result of which he felt the call to write a book on marriage. This book which is called *Thurston's Philosophy of Marriage* and was published last year by the Tiffany Press, New York, contains only 32 pages of bold type, and can be read inside of an hour. The author has not entered into an elaborate argument but has simply set forth his conclusion with just a dash of argument to support his conclusions which the publisher truly describes as "startling". In his foreword, the author claims to have based his conclusions on

[1] In reply to his telegram dated September 25, which read: "My son Sarupnarain aged eighteen thin sallow left college. Please detain. Coming."

[2] In reply to his telegram dated September 25, which read: "Letter received. Request spare Vallabhbhaiji for a day only."

"personal observation, data obtained from physicians, statistics of social hygiene and medical statistics," compiled during the War. His conclusions are:

1. That Nature never intended a woman to be bound to a man for life, and to be compelled to occupy the same bed or habitation with him, night after night, in pregnancy and out, in order to earn her board and lodging, and to exercise her natural right to bear children.

2. That the daily and nightly juxtaposition of the male and female, which is a result of present marriage laws and customs, leads to unrestrained sexual intercourse, which perverts the natural instincts of both male and female, and makes partial prostitutes of 90% of all married women. This condition arises from the fact that married women have been led to believe that such prostitution of themselves is right and natural because it is legal, and that it is necessary in order to retain the affections of their husbands.

The author then goes on to describe the effects of continual "unrestrained sexual intercourse" which I epitomize as follows:

(a) It causes the woman to become highly nervous, prematurely aged, diseased, irritable, restless, discontented, and incapable of properly caring for her children.

(b) Among the poorer classes it leads to the propagation of many children who are not wanted.

(c) Among the higher classes, unrestrained sexual intercourse leads to the practice of contraception and abortion. *If contraceptive methods under the name of 'birth-control' or any other name are taught to the majority of the women of the masses, the race will become generally diseased, demoralized, depraved and will eventually perish.* (The italics are the author's.)

(d) Excessive sexual intercourse drains the male of the vitality necessary for earning a good living. *At present there are approximately 2,000,000 more widows in the United States than there are widowers. Comparatively few of these are war widows.* (Italics are the author's.)

(e) The excessive sexual intercourse incident to the present married state develops in the minds of both male and female a sense of futility. *The poverty of the world today, and the slums of the larger cities are not due to lack of profitable labour to be performed, but to excessive, unrestrained sexual intercourse, resulting from present marriage laws.* (Italics are the author's.)

(g) Most serious of all from the standpoint of the future of the human race is sexual intercourse during pregnancy.

Then follows an indictment of China and India into which

I need not go. This brings us to half of this booklet. The next half is devoted to the remedy.

The central fact of the remedy is that husband and wife must always live in separate rooms, therefore, necessarily sleep in separate beds, and meet only when both desire progeny, but especially the wife. I do not intend to give the changes suggested in the marriage laws. The one thing common to all marriages throughout the world is a common room and a common bed, and this the author condemns in unmeasured terms, I venture to think, rightly. There is no doubt that much of the sensuality of our nature, whether male or female, is due to the superstition bearing a religious sanction that married people are bound to share the same bed and the same room. It has produced a mentality, the disastrous effect of which it is difficult for us, living in the atmosphere generated by that superstition, properly to estimate.

The author is equally opposed, as we have already seen, to contraceptive methods.

S. Ganesan, the enterprising publisher of Madras, has obtained the permission of the author to reprint the booklet for circulation in India. If he does so, the reader can possess a copy at a trifling price. He has secured also the rights of translation.

Many of the other remedies suggested by the author are, in my opinion, not of practical use to us, and in any case require legislative sanction. But every husband and wife can make a fixed resolution from today never to share the same room or the same bed at night and to avoid sexual contact, except for the one supreme purpose for which it is intended for both man and beast. The beast observes the law invariably. Man having got the choice has grievously erred in making the wrong choice. Every woman can decline to have anything to do with contraception. Both man and woman should know that abstention from satisfaction of the sexual appetite results not in disease but in health and vigour, provided that mind co-operates with the body. The author believes that the present condition of marriage laws "is responsible for the greater part of all the ills of the world today". One need not share this sweeping belief with the author to come to the two final decisions I have suggested. But there can be no doubt that a large part of the miseries of today can be avoided, if we look at the relations between the sexes in a healthy and pure light and regard ourselves as trustees for the moral welfare of the future generations.

Young India, 27-9-1928

351. KHADI WORK IN BIJOLIA

The following[1] is a summary of an elaborate report prepared for the khadi workers by Sjt. Jethalal Govindji, the indefatigable worker who has specialized in the self-help method of khadi production. Sjt. Jethalal Govindji swears by his method. Whether one agrees with him or not, one cannot help admiring the single-minded zeal with which he has worked out his method. His exclusive absorption in his self-imposed labours is worthy of emulation. It is the spirit that defies defeat. The experiences of such a worker cannot but be of value to every national servant.

Young India, 27-9-1928

352. ABHOY ASHRAM

This is one of the efficient institutions of Bengal to which many young men have dedicated themselves for national service. The readers of *Young India* cannot be unfamiliar with the Abhoy Ashram as it has been noticed in these columns more than once. The report for the year 1927, now before me, is published in pamphlet form, is well illustrated, covers 35 pages, and furnishes a record of continuous progress. Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji is the President of the governing body, and Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh is its Secretary. It has 13 members who are under the vows of fearlessness, truth, love, non-appropriation, labour, purity and patriotism. The creed of the Ashram is self-realization through the service of the motherland. Its headquarters are at Comilla, and its activities are spinning, medical relief, removal of untouchability, national education, dairying and agriculture. Khadi is the largest among these activities. Through it, the Ashram distributed last year over Rs. 66,000 among artisans, of which Rs. 28,000 went to the weavers, Rs. 27,000 to the spinners, over Rs. 1,200 to women who did embroidery work upon khadi, over Rs. 3,000 to washermen and over Rs. 6,000 to tailors. Its sales amounted to over Rs. 1,42,000 during the year under notice. The khadi department was worked at a profit. The cost of production and sale was 13% of the total sales. The profit earned was over

[1] Not reproduced here; *vide* also "Policy of Making Khadi Self-supporting", 23-9-1928.

Rs. 1,200. The khadi department absorbs 63 whole-time workers, who work in 20 centres scattered throughout the province. And "as khaddar organization naturally becomes the pivot for nation-building institutions to grow round it", reading rooms, libraries, elementary schools, gymnasiums and other social service organizations are being reared up in the khadi organization established by the Ashram. I must omit the very interesting details about the medical department, untouchability work, national education, etc., and commend to the reader the report itself. The report goes on to state that if the Ashram is to continue to grow, it requires pecuniary assistance for the various departments. The total amount is estimated at Rs. 61,000 of which Rs. 10,000 are required for the dyeing department, Rs. 40,000 for the expansion of khadi work, Rs. 3,500 for agriculture, Rs. 2,500 for dairy and Rs. 5,000 for additional buildings which a growing institution like the Abhoy Ashram must always need. It need hardly be mentioned that the majority of the workers are all living on bare maintenance. The Ashram in fact represents the spirit of sacrifice, of which Bengal is probably among all the provinces the finest repository. I would invite the reader to procure the report, read it and give this great institution all the help he can.

Young India, 27-9-1928

353. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[*September 28, 1928*][1]

CHI. MIRA,

Just to tell you I have your letter. Do you know that Jamnalalji has lost his father? No decision has yet been arrived at. It will be tomorrow I hope. The oven is finished. Chhotelal is better.

Love.

BAPU

SHRIMATI MIRABAI
ASHRAM, HATUNDI, AJMER (RAJPUTANA)

From the original: C.W. 5309. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8199

[1] From the postmark

354. 'THE FIERY ORDEAL'[1]

The killing of an ailing calf in the Ashram under circumstances described below having caused a great commotion in certain circles in Ahmedabad and some angry letters having been addressed to Gandhiji on the subject, Gandhiji has critically examined the question in the light of the principle of non-violence in an article in *Navajivan*, the substance of which is given below. P.

I

When Killing May Be Ahimsa

An attempt is being made at the Ashram to run a small model dairy and tannery on behalf of the Goseva Sangha. Its work in this connection brings it up, at every step, against intricate moral dilemmas that would not arise but for the keenness to realize the Ashram ideal of seeking Truth through the exclusive means of Ahimsa.

For instance some days back a calf having been maimed lay in agony in the Ashram. Whatever treatment and nursing was possible was given to it. The surgeon whose advice was sought in the matter declared the case to be past help and past hope. The suffering of the animal was so great that it could not even turn its side without excruciating pain.

In these circumstances I felt that humanity[2] demanded that the agony should be ended by ending life itself. I held a preliminary discussion with the Managing Committee most of whom agreed with my view. The matter was then placed before the whole Ashram. At the discussion a worthy neighbour vehemently opposed the idea of killing even to end pain and offered to nurse the dying animal. The nursing consisted in co-operation with some of the Ashram sisters in warding the flies off the animal and trying to feed it. The ground of the friend's opposition was that one has no right to take away life which one cannot create. His argument seemed to me to be pointless here. It would have point if the taking of life was actuated by self-interest. Finally in all humility but with the clearest of convictions I got in my presence a doctor kindly to administer the calf a quietus by means of a poison injection. The whole thing was over in less than two minutes.

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 30-9-1928.
[2] The Gujarati original has "ahimsa".

I knew that public opinion especially in Ahmedabad[1] would not approve of my action and that it would read nothing but *himsa* in it.

But I know too that performance of one's duty should be independent of public opinion. I have all along held that one is bound to act according to what to one appears to be right even though it may appear wrong to others. And experience has shown that that is the only correct course. I admit that there is always a possibility of one's mistaking right for wrong and *vice versa* but often one learns to recognize wrong only through unconscious error. On the other hand if a man fails to follow the light within for fear of public opinion or any other similar reason he would never be able to know right from wrong and in the end lose all sense of distinction between the two. That is why the poet has sung:

> The pathway of love is the ordeal of fire,
> The shrinkers turn away from it.

The pathway of ahimsa, that is, of love, one has often to tread all alone.

But the question may very legitimately be put to me: Would I apply to human beings the principle I have enunciated in connection with the calf? Would I like it to be applied in my own case? My reply is yes; the same law holds good in both the cases. The law of यथा पिंडे तथा ब्रह्मांडे (as with one so with all) admits of no exceptions, or the killing of the calf was wrong and violent. In practice however we do not cut short the sufferings of our ailing dear ones by death because as a rule we have always means at our disposal to help them and because they have the capacity to think and decide for themselves. But supposing that in the case of an ailing friend I am unable to render any aid whatever and recovery is out of the question and the patient is lying in an unconscious state in the throes of fearful agony, then I would not see any *himsa* in putting an end to his suffering by death.

Just as a surgeon does not commit *himsa* but practises the purest ahimsa when he wields his knife on his patient's body for the latter's benefit, similarly one may find it necessary under certain imperative circumstances to go a step further and sever life from the body in the interest of the sufferer. It may be objected that whereas the surgeon performs his operation to save the life of of the patient, in the other case we do just the reverse. But on a deeper analysis it will be found that the ultimate object sought

[1] Words "especially in Ahmedabad" are not in the Gujarati original.

to be served in both the cases is the same, *viz.*, to relieve the suffering soul within from pain. In the one case you do it by severing the diseased portion from the body, in the other you do it by severing from the soul the body that has become an instrument of torture to it. In either case it is the relief of the soul within from pain that is aimed at, the body without the life within being incapable of feeling either pleasure or pain. Other circumstances can be imagined in which not to kill would spell *himsa*, while killing would be ahimsa. Suppose for instance, that I find my daughter—whose wish at the moment I have no means of ascertaining—is threatened with violation and there is no way by which I can save her, then it would be the purest form of *ahimsa* on my part to put an end to her life and surrender myself to the fury of the incensed ruffian.

But the trouble with our votaries of ahimsa is that they have made of ahimsa[1] a blind fetish and put the greatest obstacle in the way of the spread of true ahimsa in our midst. The current (and in my opinion, mistaken) view of ahimsa has drugged our conscience and rendered us insensible to a host of other and more insidious forms of *himsa* like harsh words, harsh judgments, ill-will, anger and spite and lust of cruelty; it has made us forget that there may be far more *himsa* in the slow torture of men and animals, the starvation and exploitation to which they are subjected out of selfish greed, the wanton humiliation and oppression of the weak and the killing of their self-respect that we witness all around us today than in mere benevolent taking of life. Does anyone doubt for a moment that it would have been far more humane to have summarily put to death those who in the infamous lane of Amritsar were made by their torturers to crawl on their bellies like worms? If anyone desires to retort by saying that these people themselves today feel otherwise, that they are none the worse for their crawling, I shall have no hesitation in telling him that he does not know even the elements of ahimsa. There arise occasions in a man's life when it becomes his imperative duty to meet them by laying down his life; not to appreciate this fundamental fact of man's estate is to betray an ignorance of the foundation of ahimsa. For instance, a votary of truth would pray to God to give him death to save him from a life of falsehood. Similarly a votary of ahimsa would on bent knees implore his enemy to put him to death rather than humiliate him or make him do things unbecoming the dignity of a human being. As the poet has sung:

[1] 'Non-killing' would be nearer to the Gujarati original.

The way of the Lord is meant for heroes,
Not for cowards.

It is this fundamental misconception about the nature and scope of ahimsa, this confusion about the relative values, that is responsible for our mistaking mere non-killing for ahimsa and for the fearful amount of *himsa* that goes on in the name of ahimsa in our country. Let a man contrast the sanctimonious horror that is affected by the so-called votaries of ahimsa, at the very idea of killing an ailing animal to cut short its agony with their utter apathy and indifference to countless cruelties that are practised on our dumb cattle world. And he will begin to wonder whether he is living in the land of ahimsa or in that of conscious or unconscious hypocrisy.

It is our spiritual inertia, lack of moral courage—the courage to think boldly and look facts squarely in the face that is responsible for this deplorable state of affairs. Look at our pinjrapoles and goshalas, many of them represent today so many dens of torture to which as a sop to conscience we consign the hapless and helpless cattle. If they could only speak they would cry out against us and say, "Rather than subject us to this slow torture give us death." I have often read this mute appeal in their eyes.

To conclude then, to cause pain or wish ill to or to take the life of any living being out of anger or a selfish intent is *himsa*. On the other hand after a calm and clear judgment to kill or cause pain to a living being with a view to its spiritual or physical benefit from a pure, selfless intent may be the purest form of ahimsa. Each such case must be judged individually and on its own merits. The final test as to its violence or non-violence is after all the intent underlying the act.

II
When Killing Is Himsa

I now come to the other crying problem that is confronting the Ashram today. The monkey nuisance has become very acute and an immediate solution has become absolutely necessary. The growing vegetables and fruit trees have become a special mark of attention of this privileged fraternity and are now threatened with utter destruction. In spite of all our efforts we have not yet been able to find an efficacious and at the same time non-violent[1] remedy for the evil.

[1] The original has "blameless".

The matter has provoked a hot controversy in certain circles and I have received some angry letters on the subject. One of the correspondents has protested against the "killing of monkeys and wounding them by means of arrows in the Ashram". Let me hasten to assure the reader that no monkey has so far been killed in the Ashram, nor has any monkey been wounded by means of "arrows" or otherwise as imagined by the correspondent. Attempts are undoubtedly being made to drive them away and harmless arrows have been used for the purpose.

The idea of wounding monkeys to frighten them away seems to me unbearable though I am seriously considering the question of killing them in case it should become unavoidable. But this question is not so simple or easy as the previous one.

I see a clear breach of ahimsa even in driving away monkeys, the breach would be proportionately greater if they have to be killed. For any act of injury done from self-interest whether amounting to killing or not is doubtless *himsa*.

All life in the flesh exists by some *himsa*. Hence the highest religion has been defined by a negative word ahimsa. The world is bound in a chain of destruction. In other words *himsa* is an inherent necessity for life in the body. That is why a votary of ahimsa always prays for ultimate deliverance from the bondage of flesh.

None, while in the flesh, can thus be entirely free from *himsa* because one never completely renounces the will to live. Of what use is it to force the flesh merely if the spirit refuses to co-operate? You may starve even unto death but if at the same time the mind continues to hanker after objects of the sense, your fast is a sham and a delusion. What then is the poor helpless slave to the will to live to do? How is he to determine the exact nature and the extent of *himsa* he must commit? Society has no doubt set down a standard and absolved the individual from troubling himself about it to that extent. But every seeker after truth has to adjust and vary the standard according to his individual need and to make a ceaseless endeavour to reduce the circle of *himsa*. But the peasant is too much occupied with the burden of his hard and precarious existence to have time or energy to think out these problems for himself and the cultured class instead of helping him chooses to give him the cold shoulder. Having become a peasant myself, I have no clear-cut road to go by and must therefore chalk out a path for myself and possibly for fellow peasants. And the monkey nuisance being one of the multitude of ticklish problems that stare the farmer in the face, I must find out some

means by which the peasant's crops can be safeguarded against it with the minimum amount of *himsa*.

I am told that the farmers of Gujarat employ special watchmen whose very presence scares away the monkeys and saves the peasant from the necessity of killing them. That may be but it should not be forgotten that whatever efficacy this method might have, it is clearly dependent upon some measure of destruction at some time or other. For these cousins of ours are wily and intelligent beings. The moment they discover that there is no real danger for them, they refuse to be frightened even by gun shots and only gibber and howl the more when shots are fired. Let nobody therefore imagine that the Ashram has not considered or left any method of dealing with the nuisance untried. But none of the methods that I have known up to now is free from *himsa*. Whilst therefore I would welcome any practical suggestions from the readers of *Navajivan* for coping with this problem, let the intending advisers bear in mind what I have said above and send only such solutions as they have themselves successfully tried and cause the minimum amount of injury.

Young India, 4-10-1928

355. *CURING SEX OBSESSION*

It is desirable that every man and woman should carefully study the translation published in this issue of the substance of the new book[1] on marriage written by an author named Thurston. Among us, starting from boys of the age of fifteen right up to men of fifty or, in the case of girls, starting from an even younger age up to women of fifty, the belief is current that it is not possible to live without the gratification of our sexual desires. Hence both the sexes are in a continuous state of excitement. They do not trust each other and a man changes colour when he sees a woman and *vice versa*. Because of this, certain customs have become prevalent, as a result of which both men and women have lost their vitality and have become sickly and listless and our lives have been reduced to a state which is unworthy of human beings.

Even in the Shastras which came into being in such an atmosphere, such commands and beliefs are found which result in a man and a woman having to act as if they were enemies of each other. This is so because sexual desires are aroused or there is

[1] *Thurston's Philosophy of Marriage*; *vide* "Startling Conclusions", 27-9-1928.

a fear of their being aroused when a member of either sex catches a glimpse of a member of the other sex.

Because of this belief and because of the customs that have been forged on the basis of this belief, one's life is spent in the gratification of sexual desire or in thinking about it, with the result that life becomes as bitter as poison.

As a matter of fact, because of his powers of discretion, man should have greater strength for renunciation and should be able to exercise more self-control than animals. Despite this, it is our everyday experience that man fails to observe the limits observed by animals in their relationship with members of the opposite sex. Ordinarily, the relationship between a man and a woman should be similar to that between a mother and a son, a sister and a brother or a father and a daughter. It is obvious that the relationship between husband and wife can be something in the nature only of an exception, and a man would be afraid of being with a woman and *vice versa* only if a brother and a sister need be thus afraid. On the contrary, in actual practice even the relationship between a brother and a sister is not free from inhibitions. And they are taught to cultivate such inhibitions.

It is absolutely necessary to save ourselves from this pitiable condition, that is, from this atmosphere polluted by sexual desire. The ignorant fear that we cannot free ourselves from this has taken deep root in us. True manliness lies in destroying it, and we should acquire the confidence that it is possible to so.

Thurston's little book helps greatly in such an effort. I for one feel that this writer's theory—that, at the root of this desire are the current beliefs regarding marriage and the customs, both in the East and in the West, based on them—is correct. For a man and a woman to sleep alone at night in one room and share a bed between them is fatal to both and is a potent means of universalizing the rein of sexual desire and making it permanent. For religious preachers and reformers to preach self-control when all married couples behave like this, is like trying to patch up the sky. It is not surprising that the measures adopted for practising self-control are futile in an atmosphere where sex is so predominant. The Shastras proclaim that the sexual desire should be indulged in only for the purpose of procreation. This commandment is being violated every moment and yet people look for other causes for the resulting diseases. This is an action similar to that of a person who, while carrying his child on his hips, searches for it in the whole town. If this fact which is clear as daylight is understood, we would do the following:

1. Men and women would take a pledge today that they would not sleep in privacy and would not engage in procreation without mutual consent. Whenever possible, they should sleep in separate rooms. Where this is not possible due to poverty, they should sleep on separate beds, set far apart, and have some friend or relation to sleep between them.

2. Understanding parents should not give their daughter in marriage unless she is going to be provided with a separate room and a separate bed. Marriage is a kind of friendship. A man and a woman become partners in joys and sorrows, so that as soon as they are married, on the very first night they should not give in to the gratification of their sexual desire and lay the foundation of the ruin of their lives. Children should be given such training.

The new, wonderful beneficent and peaceful conception that is implied in the acceptance of Thurston's theory deserves to be pondered over and it is necessary to understand the changes that ought to be made in the prevalent ideas on marriage. We can profit from this discovery only if this can take place. If those who have been able to understand this discovery have children of their own, they should accordingly alter their children's education and the atmosphere in their own homes.

We should not require Thurston's testimony or his support in order to realize the harmful nature of the tremendous propaganda that is being carried on at present for the use of artificial methods of birth-control side by side with the gratification of sexual desire. It is surprising how this method can be adopted in India at all. It passes my understanding how educated persons suggest this method in the prevalent enervating atmosphere in this country.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-9-1928

356. MUSIC IN GUJARAT

The reader is aware of the fact that the National Music Association has been functioning in Ahmedabad for the last few years. Dr. Hariprasad Desai is the President of the Association and the well-known musician Shri Narayan Moreshwar Khare, is its Secretary. This Association has been steadily carrying out its work in Gujarat. All Gujaratis are or should be aware of the fact that as compared with Bengal, Maharashtra and the Southern provinces, Gujarat lags far behind in respect of music. Not only

are Gujarati men and women less musical but ordinaril boys and girls cannot sing in tune even a simple song. It then that there can be no difference of opinion on the r propagation of music. Moreover, the music that is being by the musician Shri Khare is fully conducive to improvei moral standards and is steeped in the spirit of prayer.

Although this Association gets some assistance from Ahm it is not enough or adequate, either because the people have r realized its need or, maybe, the propaganda carried on b not been sufficiently popular. As both Dr. Hariprasad a musician Shri Khare wish to see a simultaneous increase i cial assistance and in popularity and as the support fr wealthy class is meagre, they have formulated a new schen which I quote the following paragraph[1]:

I hope that the citizens of Ahmedabad will welcc scheme and that a hundred members will be enrolled imme Those who wish to have any further information shoulc to Shri Khare at the Ashram address.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-9-1928

357. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

September 3

DEAR MOTILALJI,

Mahadev gave me your message. But as there was definite to say and as I have been overwhelmed with connection with the Ashram, I did not write to you before

Mahadev tells me that you want me to attend the A Congress Committee's meeting. What shall I do there? W I do? I know that that part of the national work is a ful, but my heart has gone out of it and I become mo more inclined to give my time to what is concisely un as constructive work. I do not mention khadi alone, becau giving such attention as I can to other items of constructi not even mentioned in the Congress programme. And I

[1] Not translated here. The scheme was to popularize Indi both vocal and instrumental, by arranging a weekly concert coverir *ragas*, and holding it at various times in the morning, in the eveni the night, according as a *raga* demanded it. It was to start function a hundred members had been enrolled at an annual fee of Rs. 12.

everywhere strength of mind has got to be evoked and to the extent that it is, the power of resistance is developed. Lucknow seems evidently to have left the masses untouched. Today riots are going on in Gujarat which never before knew Hindu-Muslim rioting. News has just arrived that a brave Ashram lad was nearly done to death yesterday. Whilst he was in a press building, the goondas broke into that building, indiscriminately assaulted everyone who was in it and then set fire to it. A noted *Vakil* of Godhra was fatally wounded and Waman Rao who is a member of the Bombay Council and whom you know was seriously assaulted. Every day some fresh rioting news comes from some place or other.

I know that in spite of all this, the constitution-building work must be done. I only want to tell you that these riots largely unfit me for such work. Indeed, I am contemplating absence even from the Congress if you could permit me to remain away. There is a double reason: the prevailing atmosphere and the decision of the Calcutta Committee to copy the Madras type of Exhibition.[1] The Council of the All-India Spinners' Association has decided to abstain from being represented at that Exhibition. Much though I feel the error in using Madras Exhibition as a type, I do not want to criticize it in the public. If I go to Calcutta, my presence will either embarrass the Committee or my silence will embarrass me.

I have now given you what is today oppressing my mind. You will now decide firstly, whether you want me for the All-India Congress Committee in Calcutta and secondly, whether you want me to attend the Congress in December.

You and Vithalbhai worked wonders in Simla.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13695

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXV, pp. 439-41.

358. INTERVIEW TO W. W. HALL[1]

[Before *October, 1928*]

Mr. Hall . . . tells how he presented a series of questions to Mr. Gandhi, the first of which referred to "the choice of a life career" which would "make the greatest contribution to society". On this point, Mr. Gandhi said:

The vital consideration is not so much the choice of one or another profession as the achieving of self-realization. . . . In facing the problem of a career, a man should emphasize, above all else, the spiritual aspects of life. With this uppermost in his thoughts, he should test his own potentialities, discover how he can best meet the peculiar needs of the local community in which he finds himself, and apply himself to meeting those needs to the utmost of his ability.

Q. What relation should religion and character bear to education in our present-day programme?

A. Education, character and religion should be regarded as convertible terms. There is no true education which does not tend to produce character, and there is no true religion which does not determine character. Education should contemplate the whole life. Mere memorizing and book-learning is not education. I have no faith in the so-called systems of education which produce men of learning without the backbone of character.

What fitting substitute can the Western nations find for militarism?

Militarism is essentially self-assertion. I should therefore substitute for self-assertion self-abnegation.

But what is meant by the term "self-abnegation"?

The sense in which Christ understood it: "He who loseth his life shall find it."

What is the way out of the present seemingly hopeless antagonism between religious factions in all parts of the world?

Charity. We must learn toleration and respect for others. Every religion in some measure satisfies the spiritual needs of men. If a religious act, such as tomtoming, annoys me, I should not try to have it prohibited, but should realize that it ministers

[1] Of the *North American Review*. The interview took place in the Ashram at Ahmedabad.

to other people's needs, and remove myself from the scene of disturbance.

I have ceased to declare myself publicly on this issue. My views are well known. As the French proverb has it, "He who excuses himself accuses himself". I believe that by maintaining silence, my message is more forcibly conveyed than by constant admonition. There is, however, no need of despairing of this or any other issue where the right is involved. The world is moving on the right course. When you consider that our mortal lives are mere specks in relation to the whole of time, you may appreciate that the world may be progressing, even when progress is not apparent. I am supremely hopeful.

The Indian Review, October, 1928

359. SPEECH ON ANNIE BESANT'S BIRTHDAY, AHMEDABAD

October 1, 1928

Speaker after speaker paid glowing tributes to Dr. Besant, whose 82nd birthday was celebrated here this evening; Mahatma Gandhi presided.

Gandhiji observed that they could celebrate Dr. Besant's birthday properly only if they followed in her footsteps. She had always put her precepts into practice and had the courage of her convictions. There was indomitable will and unflinching determination in her utterances.

Gandhiji asked the gathering to follow Dr. Besant's simplicity of life and her power of introspection. He declared:

If you keep that same will-power and determination even in small things, you will achieve great things. India wants swaraj, but where is her fitness? She is in chains and only when you break those chains and become fit for it will you get swaraj, and then no power on earth can resist her.

It was Dr. Besant, declared Mahatmaji, who bridged the gulf between religion and politics. Bereft of religion politics would be like a body without soul. Without religion swaraj would be of no avail. It was Dr. Besant, concluded Gandhiji, who had awakened India from her deep slumber. To Dr. Besant there was nothing impossible in this world. Determination, simplicity, sacrifice and penance—these were the chief characteristics in her life; and Gandhiji fervently appealed to young men of India to take a vow to put these into practice in their lives.

The Hindu, 2-10-1928

360. LETTER TO SRI PRAKASA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 2, 1928

MY DEAR SRI PRAKASA,

Your yarn is better than before, but it is not yet up to the mark. You must get someone from Kripalani's Ashram[1] to show you the proper way or come here to learn.

With reference to the Benares incident[2], I have purposely omitted it as many other interesting chapters of my life. Indeed as I proceed with the chapters, my embarrassment increases, because the chief actors are still alive and they are much before the public. I sometimes almost feel that I should now cease writing the further chapters and yet dare not do it till I have reached the special session of 1920[3]. Of course I myself regard that event in Benares as one of the proud events of my life. I was really unprepared for it, and I do not yet know where I got the strength to stand the trial. I can say about so many incidents in my life. "Thy faith has made thee whole."

I duly received the cheque sent by you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SRI PRAKASA
SEVASHRAMA, BENARES CANTONMENT

From a microfilm: S.N. 13538

[1] Gandhi Ashram, Banaras

[2] *Vide* Vol. XIII, pp. 215-6. In his letter dated September 20, Sri Prakasa had said: "I was eagerly expecting a chapter in your autobiography on the laying of the foundation-stone of the Benares Hindu University and your putting all the princes to flight as you declared, 'Princes, go and sell your jewels', in your speech. I 'complained' of the omission to Seth Jamnalal. He said I should write to you. I do so in the hope that that beautiful chapter may still come and the great incident recorded for ever."

[3] Of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta

361. LETTER TO DR. P. C. RAY

October 2, 1928

DEAR DR. RAY,

Here is the series of articles contributed to *Young India* by Prof. C. N. Vakil on India's poverty.[1] Prof. Vakil wrote to me saying that you wanted the series. It took some time in collecting the articles as some of the issues containing the articles were not easily available.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,

DR. P. C. RAY
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13539

362. LETTER TO NANAKCHAND

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 2, 1928

MY DEAR NANAKCHAND,

I was delighted to receive your letter. I am glad that you are doing well. You must now become strong, healthy and hardy. Though you have got there access to all the luxuries of life, you must rigorously deny them to yourself and evolve a strong will and a strong constitution before you think of coming here again. You have seen something of the Ashram life. You can practise there whatever has commended itself to you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. NANAKCHAND, B.A.,
C/o SHAMLAL, ADVOCATE, ROHTAK

From a microfilm: S.N. 13540

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 12-7-1928, sub-title, "Are We Getting Poorer?".

363. LETTER TO ANNIE BESANT

October 2, 1928

DEAR DR. BESANT,

I have the note signed by you as Secretary of the Madras Committee formed to support the report of the All-parties Conference at Lucknow. My sympathies are all with you in your endeavour, which I know will cost you much time and trouble; but I am sure that the time and trouble given to popularizing the report will not be lost. For, having at last got a document with the *imprimatur* of all parties, it will be a great national tragedy if the report is not acclaimed by the public.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. BESANT
ADYAR, MADRAS

[PS.]

Wish you many returns of the day.[1]

M.K.G.

From a photostat: S.N. 13699

364. LETTER TO KALYANJI MEHTA AND KANTI

[October 2, 1928][2]

BHAISHRI KALYANJI,

I have your letter and Kanti's. I was very happy. You did very well in supplying milk. We wish to overcome hatred through love. Give me detailed news about Kanti from time to time.

CHI. KANTI,

You acted in a wonderful manner. Let your heart be always as tender as you showed it this time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2681

[1] Dr. Annie Besant's 82nd birthday fell on October 1.
[2] From the postmark

365. EXTRACTS FROM LETTER TO KALYANJI MEHTA

[On or before *October 3, 1928*][1]

Mahatma Gandhi has written a letter to Mr. Kalyanji, Congress worker of Surat, about the Surat riots. Gandhiji says that he does not feel aggrieved that Kaviti[2] (a Congress volunteer) was wounded in the riot, but that he feels that he has no strength at all to render any help in such riots. Gandhiji observes:

But I have been sustaining my life in the hope that from such weakness new strength will arise.

Gandhiji requests Mr. Kalyanji to send him daily reports and asks him not to be angry with Mahomedans even mentally. Gandhiji concludes:

Whenever humanity is mad, it acts in the same way. If we but keep cool, we will achieve something some day.

The Hindu, 5-10-1928

366. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SABARMATI,
October 3, 1928

CHI. MIRA,

I have your wire. I had your postcard too. Did you get mine? I was glad you were able to wire "very well". I was a bit anxious. You will know all about Kanti Parekh from Prabhudas. Please tell him I have his letter. I must not reply today. The Udyog Mandir resolution was accepted by the meeting but much yet remains to be done.

Love.

BAPU

SHRIMATI MIRABAI
C/o PRABHUDAS GANDHI, SHAILA KHADI SHALA, ALMORA, U.P.

From the original: C.W. 5310. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8200

[1] The report appeared under the date-line "Ahmedabad, October 3".
[2] Perhaps, 'Kanti'; *vide* the preceding item.

367. LETTER TO BABAN GOKHALE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 3, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

You know that the Depressed Class friends have been intending to build a hall and a hostel as also a school for Depressed Class children. They came to me when I was convalescing at Juhu. I told them that I would gladly interest myself in the matter if they raised some money themselves and I told them too that I would endeavour to beg some money myself. They made many attempts more or less successful and they showed me many draft copies of the trust-deed necessary for the purpose. The latest I enclose herewith. They leave me to suggest the names of other trustees beyond two from among themselves. The names of the two are Sjt. Ramachandra Satvaji Nikaljey and Sjt. Jayaram Tabaji Gaikwad. I would like you to interest yourself in this matter. Go through the whole thing yourself, see the site, meet all the principal members and then advise me. I would like you also to become the Secretary of the trust and one of the trustees. You may suggest to me the other names. I would like you to see Sir Purushottamdas and ask him whether he has promised to give Rs. 5,000 and whether he will give that money and become one of the trustees. Suggest some other names also to me. I would myself suggest Sjt. Gokulbhai Bhatt of the Rashtriya School and Kishorelal Mashruwala, Shrimati Avantikabai Gokhale, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Sjts. Jerajani and Yeshwant Prasad Desai. That would become a business-like trust. Sir Purushottamdas can become the Chairman. If Mr. Jayakar joins, he will be a good addition. But you may omit these names altogether and make your own original suggestions. I have in mind Rameshwar Birla. He may not consent to be one of the trustees though he has given me ample funds for this class of work, and for this very work too I expect from him a fairly good sum if I can convince him that this would be a living trust and that you or some person like you would act as the Secretary. More you will ascertain from Sjt. Bhonsle who carries this letter.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BABAN GOKHALE
GIRGAUM, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 14736

368. LETTER TO FULSINH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 3, 1928

BHAI FULSINHJI,

I have your letter. I thank you for writing to me immediately what you know about the monkeys. Have you made sure that in both cases the nuisance can be stopped? Kindly make still more detailed inquiry and let me know.

Vandematarams from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 227

369. MISTAKEN HUMANITY?

Sjt. Jamshed Mehta is rightly accepted as the truest man of Karachi. Almost every good public movement there claims him as its own. He devotes practically the whole of his time to public movements. He is one of the best representatives of theosophy. His honesty and independence are as unquestioned as his patriotism. When therefore such a man commits an error of judgement or runs counter to public opinion, his friends feel sore at heart. Sjt. Jamshed Mehta, who is the President of the Karachi Municipality, seems to me to have committed an error of judgement. Though a lover of khadi he recently felt called upon to move on behalf of an absentee member a resolution about khadi which drew forth very strong opposition from the members. Another matter was his attitude about a product that has been introduced from Europe into India as vegetable ghee.

Many common friends have drawn my attention to the controversy that has been going on in Karachi on these topics and invited me to express my own views on them, I suppose, in the hope that they may either influence the President who knows my regard for him, or if they do not influence him, may at least prevent some of the Karachi public from being misled into wrong action owing to what the correspondents consider to be the erroneous views of the popular President. Whether my views produce any such influence or not, the opinions on these questions

of Sjt. Jamshed Mehta deserve a patient and respectful e
nation.

I

He tells me that he moved the khadi resolution in or
test the feeling of the Municipality and withdrew it wh
saw that the members were opposed to it. I copy the reso
and the argument from the local Press:

> This Corporation resolves to cancel its resolution No. 304 da
> July, 1924 because compulsory purchase and use of hand-spun and
> woven khaddar *in all cases* has frequently resulted in pure w
> Municipal money in different departments of the Municipality.
>
> In moving the above resolution, the President at the outset
> the house that he himself was actually in favour of populariz
> use of khadi but during the last three years the Corporation ha
> no less than one lakh of rupees for encouraging this cottage i
> but his honest opinion was that the poor menials wearing khadi s
> by the Corporation were undergoing great hardships. The Cou
> were doing great injustice to themselves and to the ratepa
> spending such an enormous amount on khadi which did the
> little good. It was really a cruelty to ask the sweepers to w
> heavy cloth and go in the streets. Moreover white khadi becam
> soon and the poor peons had to spend lot of money for washin
> colour was tried but found useless. The Corporation could give o
> suits and they had to suffer much for keeping them clean. The P
> emphatically observed: "I tell you it is really a cruelty. W
> spent nearly a lakh of rupees but Rs. 85,000 is really wasted. O
> pose has not been served. Unless and until we give them
> and lighter khadi of a superior quality at double the present co
> should not think of giving khadi suits. The stuff we are now
> our peons is enough to bring tears in one's eyes."

Let us examine this argument. In judging the Mu
employees as he did by his own standard, I feel that the Pr
has done the employees and the cause of khadi a serious in
His judgement is very like that of a delicate lady judgi
appetite of her weather-beaten guests by her own or lik
of an ant measuring out a few particles of flour to the el
and feeling that she had meted out to her guest an exact m
—we know that the measure in each case would be false
delicate lady and the ant would be right in their measure
had guests of the same species finding themselves in the
circumstances.

In the Karachi case, the measure adopted by the President is wrong because the Municipal employees have not been delicately brought up like the mover of the resolution. The President's measure is doubly false, first because the sweepers do not need the same fineness in their dress material as the President and secondly because they do not want the same style of dress which educated Indians have from fear, ignorance or ambition imitated from the rulers. I venture to suggest that the Councillors should revise their notions of decency and equip their employees with garments of a style in keeping with the climate and the manners of the country. They need not then fear to use the coarsest khadi. And they will save Municipal money, promote the comfort of the employees, revive true art and will at the same time serve the poorest of their countrymen whom they cannot reach save through khadi. If the President would do unto the employees as he would that they should do unto him, let him for a moment step into their shoes and see how he would feel and his measure would be right.

But assuming that the employees must have an unnatural uniform in order to suit Municipal vanity, it is not difficult to pick up fine khadi nowadays if the Municipality will pay the price, nor is it impossible to have khaki-coloured khadi for the purpose.

The cheapest and the most patriotic method will be to train the girls and the boys of the Municipal schools and for the Councillors to train themselves to spin fine yarn and have it woven locally. The other citizens will then copy the patriotic and industrious example of the Councillors and if say one-third Karachi devotes only half an hour to philanthropic spinning, there would be many times more than enough khadi to clothe the employees.

One valid objection may be taken to this course being adopted, namely that khadi thus produced will not support the paupers in whose interest it has been recommended to public corporations. Whilst the objection is sound so far as it goes, it must not be forgotten that if any city takes up spinning in the manner suggested by me, it will be very substantial though indirect service of pauper India in that the moral effect of such sacrificial spinning will be so pervading that there will be produced a spinning atmosphere that would make the irresponsive masses take to it for supplementing their present income which is admitted to be altogether inadequate for human sustenance. Where the average daily income is less than seven pice, the addition of even one pice per day will be a princely addition.

But this may be treated as a counsel of perfection not worthy of consideration by practical business men. Anyway I know that

the idealist President will not dismiss my suggestion quite so summarily. But for those who will not seriously and scientifically organize home-spinning in the manner suggested, I submit that no expense incurred for khadi need be considered as waste, no discomfort suffered on its account too much, when it is borne in mind that every pice spent upon khadi goes directly into the pockets of the needy and that even of this at least 85 per cent goes into the pockets of the poorest artisans including the semi-starved spinners.

But says the President:

> Why not supply the employees with uniform made of swadeshi mill-cloth and save over sixty per cent of the price paid for khadi?

This is an argument I had least expected from Sjt. Jamshed Mehta the friend of the poor. Surely, if every Municipality gave a bounty of 60 per cent to khadi, it would not be wrong to do so assuming that it had the power so to do.

And I have repeatedly shown in these pages that there can be no comparison between khadi and mill-cloth even as there can be none between the home-made chapati, however costly it may be and troublesome to make, and cheap, easily prepared machine-made biscuit. Mill-cloth needs no protection or patronage from the public in the sense that khadi does. Indian mill-cloth gets preference as it ought to when khadi is unavailable at any cost, when machine-made cloth becomes a necessity and when the choice lies only between foreign cloth and swadeshi mill-cloth. Khadi it is clear must displace both. Khadi has no established market like mill-cloth. It has not even become as yet a bazaar article. Every yard of khadi bought means at least eighty-five per cent in the mouths of the starving and the poor ones of India. Every yard of mill-cloth bought means more than 75 per cent in the pockets of the capitalists and less than 25 per cent in the pockets of the labourers who are never helpless, who are well able to take care of themselves, and who never starve or need starve in the sense that the helpless millions starve for whose sake khadi has been conceived. Indeed I should be surprised if the Municipal employees, whose supposed discomfort owing to wearing coarse khadi has moved the humanitarian Sjt. Jamshed Mehta to action, would not, if they were informed of the great national importance of khadi, themselves prefer it to swadeshi mill-cloth however comfortable the latter may be to wear. Khadi in my opinion is cheap at any cost *so long as it functions to find work for and through work feed the millions.*

II

Sjt. Jamshed Mehta is not only a humanitarian, he is an ardent vegetarian and dares to incur the wrath of friends for the sake of his principles. He has somehow come to the conclusion that the product known as vegetable ghee which enterprising foreign manufacturers have introduced into the Indian market is preferable to what passes as genuine ghee but what is according to him almost always adulterated with animal fats. Though I yield to none in my enthusiasm for vegetarianism and personally always avoid the bazaar ghee and would, if I could get some medical encouragement or could summon sufficient strength of mind, avoid even goat's milk ghee, I could never bring myself to use the chemically doctored vegetable product which is generally palmed off on the gullible public as ghee.

So far as I have been able to examine medical authorities, they show that there is no effective vegetable substitute for ghee or animal fats, these being rich in vitamin A which they say is absolutely necessary for a person to keep in good health. We therefore arrive at this (for vegetarians) painful conclusion that whilst fat adulterated ghee is bad from the vegetarian standpoint, from the medical it is harmless. The only proper course for jealous food reformers like Sjt. Jamshed Mehta is to move heaven and earth to ensure a never failing supply of pure ghee and to that end I invite him to join the Goseva Sangha if he has no other and more expeditious method of reaching the common goal. Let him municipalize the milk and ghee supply of Karachi and run an efficient Municipal dairy. Vegetable ghee deserves only to be boycotted at all cost. For it is itself often adulterated and unlike adulterated ghee equally often injurious to health being chemically treated and in almost every case it is worthless as a food. In this country which abounds in oil seeds, the fresh seed oils are infinitely superior to the prepared vegetable fats whose basis is mostly cocoanut. Everyone in India can prepare for himself good vegetable ghee from an undried cocoanut which can be procured cheap in any bazaar.

Young India, 4-10-1928

370. SPINNING IN ANCIENT INDIA

Sjt. C. Balaji Rao of Coimbatore, the indefatigable khadi lover, sends me the following interesting extracts[1] which he has copied from Dr. Shamashastri's learned translation of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (period 321-296 B.C.). These extracts, besides giving much valuable information on the manners of our countrymen during that period, show that spinning was a State concern as it should be today. The inexhaustible man-power that is running to waste in the country merely awaits utilization for want of organization.

Young India, 4-10-1928

371. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 4, 1928

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I cannot trace your previous letter. With reference to yours of the 27th ultimo I see that you will be free from the relief work at the latest at the end of this month. I know that you have work for you in Sind, and I know too that you will make your presence felt, no matter where you are working. The only question is what should be your final choice. Of course I had set my mind upon you as the Secretary for the All-India Suppressed Class Association to be formed. But *I* cannot guide you in this matter. Your own instinct must be the best guide. After all *you* must make the choice, and therefore you must choose that work which is most to your liking and for which you may consider yourself to be the most fitted. If Sind needs you and you feel that you should bury yourself in Sind, I do not mind it; only you must make your final choice in so far as it is humanly possible.

I note what you say about your daughter. I do not like the thing overmuch. But I am sure that you have done the best that was possible in the circumstances. If it was not tragic, I should have a hearty laugh over your considering the expense of Rs. 2,000 a little thing. We poor people of the new age consider

[1] Not reproduced here

Rs. 10 a trifle too much. Ramdas's marriage cost me probably one rupee, that is, one or two cocoanuts and two *taklis* for the bride and the bridegroom, two copies of the *Gita* and two copies of the *Bhajanavali*. Rs. 2,000 in Gujarat will be considered a fairly large sum even outside the Ashram limits. I do not think that even Jamnalalji spent Rs. 2,000 over Kamala's wedding two years ago. But I know that if I measured Sind by the Gujarat footrule or the footrule of the new age, it would be a hopelessly false measurement. I suppose, for you, it is progress from perhaps Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 2,000, and if you were to go from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 20, you would perhaps have to renounce your mother-in-law and to have a divorce from your wife. Considered from that point of view, Rs. 2,000 is perhaps not a bad bargain.

I hope you all keep good health.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SJT. NARAINDAS MALKANI
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a photostat: G.N. 888

372. *LETTER TO D. B. KRISHNAMMA*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 4, 1928

MY DEAR KRISHNAMMA,

I was delighted to receive the album and the frame. Some of the reproductions are very striking. You will show me the originals when, if ever, I come to Rajahmundry.

I hope you are keeping quite well.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRIMATI D. B. KRISHNAMMA
RAJAHMUNDRY

From a microfilm: S.N. 14787

373. MESSAGE TO LAHORE STUDENTS' CONFERE

[Before *October 5*

Do not fear Government or any other power that ma in your way. Go forward and build a strong link betwee selves and the toiling millions who do not know even the r of the word 'education'.

The Hindustan Times, 7-10-1928

374. TELEGRAM TO ANNIE BESANT[2]

[*October 5*

DR. BESANT

YOUR WIRE. AM CONVINCED IT WILL BE DIS IF NEHRU CONSTITUTION BREAKS DOWN FOR COUNTRY'S SUPPORT WHICH CAN BE GIVEN W PREJUDICE TO ATTEMPTS MADE REALIZE I DENCE GOAL. WHILST I AGREE THAT M AGREEMENT AMONG PARTIES NOT ALWAYS ES WE SHOULD STRIVE FOR IT IN MATTERS THIS WHERE NO NATIONAL INTEREST IS C MISED.

From a photostat: S.N. 13700

[1] The message appeared under the date-line "Lahore, October conference was to meet at Lahore on October 6.

[2] In reply to her telegram received at Sabarmati on October read: "Srinivasa Iyengar interview Free Press calls on Congressmen k from All-Parties Conference ground independence not accepted goal resolution. Expresses disbelief in working for maximum agreemen political parties. Feel that clear lead by you for immediate publicati tial for success. Tomorrow's conference started solely strengthen hands Lucknow Conference."

375. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU[1]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
[October 6, 1928]

MOTILAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAVAN, ALLAHABAD

YOUR WIRE. DOCTOR BESANT ALSO WIRED. SENT FULL REPLY[2] YESTERDAY. HOPE ALL WILL GO WELL.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13702

376. TELEGRAM TO T. R. PHOOKAN[3]

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 6, 1928

T. R. PHOOKAN
GAUHATI

BEING TOO OVERWORKED REPLY. SUGGEST YOUR APPROACHING MONEYED CONGRESSMEN.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13549

[1] In reply to his telegram (S.N. 13799) dated October 5, which read: "Srinivasa Iyengar improperly interfering with Madras Provincial All-Parties Conference Mrs. Besant holding tomorrow by calling upon Congressmen keep aloof as independence resolution not accepted. Conference called simply to adopt Lucknow decisions as maximum agreement reached cannot possibly compromise Congress. Srinivasa declared disbelief in working for maximum agreement. Kindly wire to him to desist. Have wired Ansari and am issuing Press Statement."

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] In reply to addressee's telegram (S.N. 13543) which read: "My letter from Simla regarding decree for Rs. 13,500 against us for Congress dues. Please devise means to save."

377. 'WHAT ARE WE TO DO?'[1]

Two weeks ago I wrote in *Navajivan* a note on the tragedy in Godhra, where Sjt. Purushottam Shah bravely met his death at the hands of his assailants, and gave the note the heading "Hindu-Muslim Fight in Godhra"[2]. Several Hindus did not like the heading and addressed angry letters asking me to correct it. I found it impossible to accede to their demand. Whether there is one victim or more, whether there is a free fight between the two communities, or whether one assumes the offensive and the other simply suffers, I should describe the event as a fight if the whole series of happenings were the result of a state of war between the two communities. Whether in Godhra or in other places, there is today a state of war between the two communities. Fortunately the countryside is still free from the war fever which is mainly confined to towns and cities, where, in some form or other, fighting is continually going on. Even the correspondents who have written to me about Godhra do not seem to deny the fact that the happenings arose out of the communal antagonisms that existed there.

If the correspondents had simply addressed themselves to the heading, I should have satisfied myself with writing to them privately and written nothing in *Navajivan* about it. But there are other letters in which the correspondents have vented their ire on different counts. A volunteer from Ahmedabad who had been to Godhra writes:

> You say that you must be silent over these quarrels. Why were you not silent over the Khilafat, and why did you exhort us to join the Muslims? Why are you not silent about your principles of ahimsa? How can you justify your silence when the two communities are running at each other's throats and the Hindus are being crushed to atoms? How does ahimsa come there? I invite your attention to two cases:
>
> A Hindu shopkeeper thus complained to me: "Mussalmans purchase bags of rice from my shop, often never paying for them. I cannot insist on payment, for fear of their looting my godowns. I have therefore to make an involuntary gift of about 50 to 75 maunds of rice every month."

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 7-10-1928. This is a translation by Mahadev Desai.

[2] *Vide* "My Notes", 20-9-1928.

Others complained: "Mussalmans invade our quarters and insult our women in our presence, and we have to sit still. If we dare to raise a protest, we are done for. We dare not even lodge a complaint against them."

What would you advise in such cases? How would you bring your ahimsa into play? Or even here would you prefer to remain silent?

These and similar questions have been answered in these pages over and over again, but as they are still being raised, I had better explain my views once more at the risk of repetition.

Ahimsa is not the way of the timid or the cowardly. It is the way of the brave, ready to face death. He who perishes sword in hand is no doubt brave, but he who faces death without raising his little finger and without flinching is braver. But he who surrenders his rice bags for fear of being beaten is a coward and no votary of ahimsa. He is innocent of ahimsa. He, who for fear of being beaten, suffers the women of his household to be insulted, is not manly but just the reverse. He is fit neither to be a husband nor a father, nor a brother. Such people have no right to complain.

These cases have nothing to do with the inveterate enmity between Hindus and Mussalmans. Where there are fools there are bound to be knaves, where there are cowards there are bound to be bullies, whether they are Hindus or Mussalmans. Such cases used to happen even before the outbreak of these communal hostilities. The question here therefore is not how to teach one of the two communities a lesson or how to humanize it, but how to teach a coward to be brave.

If the thinking sections of both the communities realize the cowardice and folly at the back of the hostilities, we can easily end them. Both have to be brave, both have to be wise. If both or either deliberately get wise, theirs will be the way of non-violence. If both fight and learn wisdom only by bitter experience, the way will be one of violence. Either way, there is no room for cowards in a society of men, i.e., in a society which loves freedom. Swaraj is not for cowards.

It is idle therefore to denounce ahimsa or to be angry with me on the strength of the cases cited. Ever since my experience of the distortion of ahimsa in Bettiah in 1921,[1] I have bee nrepeating over and over again that he who cannot protect himself or his nearest and dearest or their honour by non-violently facing death, may and ought to do so by violently dealing with the oppressor.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 115-8.

He who can do neither of the two is a burden. He has no business to be the head of a family. He must either hide himself, or must rest content to live for ever in helplessness and be prepared to crawl like a worm at the bidding of a bully.

I know only one way—the way of ahimsa. The way of *himsa* goes against my grain. I do not want to cultivate the power to inculcate *himsa*. As ahimsa has no place in the atmosphere of cowardice prevailing today, I must needs be reticent over the riots we hear of from day to day. This exhibition of my helplessness cannot be to my liking. But God never ordains that only things that we like should happen and things that we do not like should not happen. In spite of the helplessness, the faith sustains me that He is the Help of the helpless, that He comes to one's succour only when one throws himself on His mercy. It is because of this faith that I cherish the hope that God will one day show me a path which I may confidently commend to the people. With me the conviction is as strong as ever that willy-nilly Hindus and Mussalmans must be friends one day. No one can say how and when that will happen. The future is entirely in the hands of God. But He has vouchsafed to us the ship of Faith which alone can enable us to cross the ocean of Doubt.

Young India, 11-10-1928

378. THE TANGLE OF AHIMSA[1]

My article "The Fiery Ordeal"[2] has brought down upon me the ire of many an incensed critic. Some of them seem to have made the violence of their invective against me a measure of their solicitude for ahimsa. Others, as if to test my capacity for ahimsa, have cast all decorum and propriety to the winds and have poured upon me the lava of their unmeasured and acrimonious criticism, while still some others have felt genuinely grieved at what seems to them a sad aberration on my part and have written to me letters to unburden their grief to me. I have not the time to reply to all the letters that have been sent to me, nor do I feel it to be necessary. As for the acrimonious letters, the only possible purpose that they can serve is to provide me with some exercise in forbearance and non-violence. Leaving aside such letters, there-

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 7-10-1928. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

[2] *Vide* pp. 310-5.

fore, I shall here try to examine some arguments that I have been able to glean from other and soberly written communications.

I am always prepared to give my best consideration to letters that are brief and to the point and are neatly written out in ink in a clear legible hand. For I claim to be a humble seeker after truth and am conducting *Navajivan* not merely to teach but also to learn.

To come now to the objections and the counsels addressed to me by my correspondents they may be summed up as follows:

1. You should now retire from the field of ahimsa.
2. You should confess that your views about ahimsa are imported from the West.
3. You must not express views even when they are correct if there is a possibility of their being misused.
4. If you believe in the law of karma then your killing of the calf was a vain attempt to interfere with the operation of that law.
5. What warrant had you for believing that the calf was bound not to recover? Have you not heard of cases of recovery after the doctors have pronounced them to be hopeless?

Whether I should retire or not from the field of ahimsa, or for the matter of that from any other field, is essentially and solely for me to judge. A man can give up a right, but he may not give up a duty without being guilty of a grave dereliction. Unpopularity and censure are often the lot of a man who wants to speak and practise the truth. I hold it to be the bounden duty of a satyagrahi openly and freely to express his opinions which he holds to be correct and of benefit to the public even at the risk of incurring popular displeasure and worse. So long as I believe my views on ahimsa to be correct, it would be a sin of omission on my part not to give expression to them.

I have nothing to be ashamed of if my views on ahimsa are the result of my Western education. I have never tabooed all Western ideas, nor am I prepared to anathematize everything that comes from the West as inherently evil. I have learnt much from the West and I should not be surprised to find that I had learnt something about ahimsa too from the West. I am not concerned what ideas of mine are the result of my foreign contacts. It is enough for me to know that my views on ahimsa have now become a part and parcel of my being.

I have publicly discussed my views in the matter of the calf, not necessarily because I believe them to be correct, but because they are to the best of my knowledge based on pure ahimsa and as such likely to throw light on the tangled problem of ahimsa.

As for the problem of the monkeys, I have discussed it publicly, because I do not know my duty in the matter, and I am anxious to be enlightened. Let me assure the readers that my effort has not been in vain and I have already received several helpful suggestions from my correspondents. Let me further assure them that I would not proceed to the extreme length of killing unless I am absolutely driven to it. It is because I am anxious to be spared this painful necessity that I have invited suggestions for dealing with these persistent and unwelcome guests.

I firmly believe in the law of karma, but I believe too in human endeavour. I regard as the *summum bonum* of life the attainment of salvation through karma by annihilating its effects by detachment. If it is a violation of the law of karma to cut short the agony of an ailing animal by putting an end to its life, it is no less so to minister to the sick or try to nurse them back to life. And yet if a man were to refuse to give medicine to a patient or to nurse him on the ground of karma, we would hold him to be guilty of inhumanity and *himsa*. Without therefore entering into a discussion about the eternal controversy regarding predestination and free will I will simply say here that I deem it to be the highest duty of man to render what little service he can.

I admit that there was no guarantee that the calf would not recover. I have certainly known cases that were pronounced by doctors to be hopeless and were cured afterwards. But even so I hold that a man is bound to make the utmost use of his reason, circumscribed and poor as undoubtedly it is, and to try to penetrate the mists of ignorance by its light and try to act accordingly. And that is precisely what we do in countless cases in our everyday life. But strangely paradoxical as it may seem, it is nevertheless a fact that the moment we come to think of death the very idea frightens us out of our wits and entirely paralyses our reasoning faculty, although as Hindus we ought to be the least affected by the thought of death, since from the very cradle we are brought up on the doctrines of the immortality of the spirit and the transitoriness of the body. Even if it were found that my decision to poison the calf was wrong, it could have done no harm to the soul of the animal. If I have erred I am prepared to take the consequences of my error, but I refuse to go into hysterics because by my action I possibly cut short the painful existence of a dying calf say by a couple of hours. And the rule that I have applied to the calf I am prepared to apply in the case of my own dear ones as well. Who knows how often we bring those we love to a premature end by our coddling, infatuation, wrong diagnosis or

wrong treatment? The letters that I have received from my correspondents more than ever confirm me in my conviction that in our effusiveness over matters like this we forget the elementary duty of kindness, are led away from the path of true love, and discredit our ahimsa. The fear of death is thus the greatest obstacle in the way of our realizing the true nature of ahimsa.

Young India, 11-10-1928

379. LETTER TO G. K. DEVDHAR[1]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 7, 1928

MY DEAR DEVDHAR,

This letter will serve to introduce to you Shrimati Urmila Devi who is the only surviving widowed sister of the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. Her only son is studying at the Agricultural College in Poona. In order to supervise his education and be near him, she has broken up her home in Calcutta and intends to settle down in Poona. I told her that it would be better for her and would fit in with her spirit of service if she stayed at the Seva Sadan and did some work there or stayed at Professor Karve's University, whichever she preferred or whichever was possible. I would therefore like you to discuss with Shrimati Urmila Devi the possibilities of her being able to render service and otherwise advise her. Of course she has no desire to ask you to go out of your way to accommodate her in the Seva Sadan. She would like to feel that she would really be of service to the institution if she decided to stay there at all.

At first I thought I would give a separate letter to Prof. Karve. But whilst dictating this, I thought that I would confine myself only to this letter and leave you to introduce Shrimati Urmila Devi to Prof. Karve and let her see both the institutions and make her choice, if a choice is at all open to her. And naturally what I have said regarding the Seva Sadan applies equally to Prof. Karve's Home.

I have known Shrimati Urmila Devi intimately for several years and I know how eager she is for doing some service.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13544

[1] Of the Servants of India Society

380. LETTER TO ROLAND J. WILD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter. I am sorry Mr. Wilson has not been able to visit Sabarmati. I am sending you a telegram tomorrow, today being Sunday, as follows:

"Your letter. You will be welcome any time. Advisable your coming Ahmedabad before going Bardoli. Letter follows."

I expect to be in the Ashram during the whole of the month. You will be therefore welcome whenever you arrive. On Mondays I take my silence as you may be aware.

I wonder if you will stay with us at the Ashram. Ours is you may know a meagre board and extremely simple life as it may appear to you. But if you can accommodate yourself to the life of the Ashram, of course we should all be delighted to have you in our midst.

I quite agree with you that it will be better for you to visit the Ashram before going to Bardoli.

Yours sincerely,

ROLAND J. WILD, ESQ.
ASSISTANT EDITOR, "THE PIONEER", ALLAHABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 14463

381. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Monday, October 8, 1928

CHI. MIRA,

I receive your letters regularly. Pray do not be afraid of length. I want to know everything about you and your doings. It pleases me immensely to find you happy and well and gaining all the experience. I am glad you spoke firmly to Jethalal. It would be a good thing if he sticks to his promise.

The Ashram is settling down to the new change. It is yet too early to prophesy. Two varieties of cooking, spiced and un-

spiced, commenced today. I do not know the members in each division.

The clouds having dispersed, the days are very hot nowadays.

The Austrian friends[1] have now learnt carding and they insist on bringing all their slivers to me. So I am again overloaded. Chhotelal had an attack of malaria. He is better and permitted to do some work. Vimla has again got the fever.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5312. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8202

382. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

October 8, 1928

CHI. MIRA,

After I wrote to you at Almora,[2] I got your wire. I am however letting that letter go to its destination. It is fairly long but there is nothing much in it.

Malarial fever is still with us. Chhotelal's bakery is ready. He has been making experiments.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5311. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8201

383. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

October 8, 1928

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

Though no one likes to lose his mother, I do not propose to send you my condolences. Your mother died happy in the thought of having brought up good and dutiful children and having lived a godly life. A death such as hers is to be envied. I hope both of you are keeping well.

With love,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3208

[1] Frederic and Francisca Standenath

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

384. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

Unrevised *October 8, 1928*

MY DEAR SATIS BABU,

I am fatigued and overworked. Arrears are increasing and they worry me. Hence the delay in replying.

I was working out a solution for Hemprabha Devi and Tarini. Meanwhile came your letter about their disposal. I was unwilling to have them in the Ashram. For I knew that it did not suit her last time. And I could not hit upon another place. Tarini was none too happy in Wardha. Some place must be thought out in or near Bengal. I am no further forward even now.

How happy I should feel if they could go to Comilla. I expect you to conquer Abhoy Ashram even though the Pratishthan has to suffer or to die. Only, the death or the suffering must be conscious and voluntary, not[1] mechanical and forced. This reflection arises out of your remarks about Utkal. So far as I can see, various organizations will come into being as khadi progresses. It is a condition of its growth. But the central or chief provincial organization has so to shape its course that by force of character and ability, it commands attention and respect. One difficulty with the Pratishthan is that it has not many self-sacrificing volunteers. This is due to your own upbringing. Your own personal sacrifice was phenomenal and so you carried few with you from the environment that you had created in the chemical works. Your sudden change of life had to take root and grow into a big tree before it could cover saplings. That you have only now begun to do. I remember the conversation we had in Atrai, how you dispensed with volunteers and got paid men and made of the famine work a success. If your upbringing had been otherwise, you would have made of the work a success with the volunteers. Success of ahimsa depends upon the successful organization of voluntary workers. And khadi is an attempt at working out ahimsa on a fairly large scale. We will succeed if we have patience and *tapasya* enough.

I hope my meaning is clear. This letter must not put you out or dishearten you. I want it to brace you for the future difficulties. My letter is intended to be a stimulant. When I began

[1] The source has "but".

it, I had no notion of the length it would run to or what it was to contain.

Let Utkal be a lesson that Dr. Ray should not be taken for any fixed programme. It is really too much to expect him to go through a sustained effort in khadi. He has too many irons in the fire, too many calls upon his time and he is now not a youth. The marvel is that he is still available for tours, etc.

Why not Giridih again for Hemprabha Devi and Tarini? You must send them to a salubrious climate.

With love,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13701

385. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL TEJPAL

October 9, 1928

BHAISHRI CHHOTALAL,

I have your letter. I have not received your book. I will go through it when I get it. Please send to Mr. Clayton Pragji Desai's address (Box No. 5390, Johannesburg), so that I need not write.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI C. TEJPAL
ARTIST, RAJKOT

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2587

386. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 10, 1928

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

I have your letter[1]. Pashabhai also wrote about the same thing. I think that the matter is too trivial for you to worry over. You must dismiss it entirely from your mind.

With love,

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 9610

387. LETTER TO GIRDHARILAL[2]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 10, 1928

DEAR LALA GIRDHARILAL,

Do you know anything about this lady?

Yours sincerely,

LALA GIRDHARILAL
LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13280

[1] Dated October 5. Raihana, daughter of Abbas Tyabji, had formed a Youth League in Baroda. Another woman was chosen President. Later the members disapproved of a certain action of the President and courteously asked her to explain it, whereupon the latter turned abusive. Some members wanted to expose her behaviour in the papers. Raihana was hesitant about taking such an action and wrote to Gandhiji for advice (S.N. 13542).

[2] The enclosure to this letter is "The Widow", a story by Katherine published in a magazine. In 1921 during the foreign cloth boycott movement a poor widow, Sita, possessing a single sari—of foreign make—was threatened with leprosy if she kept it. Later demented by fear of leprosy and enforced nakedness she hanged herself.

388. LETTER TO BANARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

October 10, 1928

BHAI BANARSIDAS,

I have two letters from you to be answered.

I sent over for *Young India* the one about "Chocolate"[1], adding my note to it. I did not read the book. My note was based solely upon your letter. I thought it was not right to make comments in this way; a book ought to be read. I finished it today. The impression I formed is not the same as yours. The purpose of the book, I think, is pure. I do not know if its impact is good or bad. The author has aroused disgust at inhuman conduct. I shall now have your letter taken off the chase.

What shall I write about Maharaj Kunvar Singhji[2]? I have been thinking a lot. Writing alone will serve no purpose. Sastriji is making efforts. I am vigilant.

Only the Bihar Government can, if it chooses, do something in the case of Parbhu Singh; otherwise what can be done? I do not wish to take part in this affair.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

SJT. BANARSIDAS CHATURVEDI
91 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2521

389. GOD IS

Correspondents often invite me to answer in these pages questions about God. That is the penalty I have to pay for what an English friend calls the God stunt in *Young India*. Whilst I am unable to notice all such questions in these columns, the following compels an answer:

[1] A collection of Hindi short stories by 'Ugra' (Pandeya Bechan Sharma) which gave rise to a controversy in Hindi circles when the addressee condemned it for obscenity. Later he retracted his condemnation and quoted from Gandhiji's letter in the second edition of that book.

[2] Gandhiji obviously means Kunvar Maharaj Singh whose name along with Kurma V. Reddi's was being considered to succeed V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as Agent-General in South Africa.

I read your *Young India* of May 12, 1927, p. 149, where you write, "I think it is wrong to expect certainties in this world, where all else but God that is Truth is an uncertainty."[1]

Young India, p. 152: "God is long-suffering and patient. He lets the tyrant dig his own grave, only issuing grave warnings at stated intervals."[2]

I humbly beg to say that God is not a certainty. His goal ought to be to spread truth all round. Why does He allow the world to be populated by bad people of various shades? Bad people with their unscrupulousness flourish all round and they spread contagion and thus transmit immorality and dishonesty to posterity.

Should not God, omniscient and omnipotent as He is, know where wickedness is by His omniscience and kill wickedness by His omnipotence there and then and nip all rascality in the bud and not allow wicked people to flourish?

Why should God be long-suffering and be patient? What influence can He wield if He be so? The world goes on with all its rascality and dishonesty and tyranny.

If God allows a tyrant to dig his own grave, why should He not weed out a tyrant before his tyranny oppresses the poor? Why allow full play to tyranny and then allow a tyrant, after his tyranny has ruined and demoralized thousands of people, to go to his grave?

The world continues to be as bad as it ever was. Why have faith in that God who does not use His powers to change the world and make it a world of good and righteous men?

I know vicious men with their vices living long and healthy lives. Why should not vicious men die early as a result of their vices?

I wish to believe in God but there is no foundation for my faith. Kindly enlighten me through *Young India* and change my disbelief into belief.

The argument is as old as Adam. I have no original answer for it. But I permit myself to state why I believe. I am prompted to do so because of the knowledge that there are young men who are interested in my views and doings.[3]

There is an indefinable mysterious Power that pervades everything. I feel It, though I do not see It. It is this unseen Power which makes Itself felt and yet defies all proof, because It is so unlike all that I perceive through my senses. It transcends the senses.

[1] *Vide An Autobiography*, Pt. III, Ch. XXIII.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXIII, p. 310.

[3] What follows, excluding the last sentence and the stanza from Newman, was recorded on October 20, 1931, by the Columbia Broadcasting Company, London, during Gandhiji's stay in Kingsley Hall.

But it is possible to reason out the existence of God to a limited extent. Even in ordinary affairs we know that people do not know who rules or why and how he rules. And yet they know that there is a power that certainly rules. In my tour last year in Mysore I met many poor villagers and I found upon inquiry that they did not know who ruled Mysore. They simply said some god ruled it. If the knowledge of these poor people was so limited about their ruler, I, who am infinitely lesser than God than they than their ruler, need not be surprised if I do not realize the presence of God, the King of kings. Nevertheless I do feel as the poor villagers felt about Mysore that there is orderliness in the Universe, there is an unalterable Law governing everything and every being that exists or lives. It is not a blind law; for no blind law can govern the conduct of living beings and, thanks to the marvellous researches of Sir J. C. Bose, it can now be proved that even matter is life. That Law then which governs all life is God. Law and the Law-giver are one. I may not deny the Law or the Law-giver, because I know so little about It or Him. Even as my denial or ignorance of the existence of an earthly power will avail me nothing, so will not my denial of God and His Law liberate me from its operation; whereas humble and mute acceptance of divine authority makes life's journey easier even as the acceptance of earthly rule makes life under it easier.

I do dimly perceive that whilst everything around me is ever changing, ever dying, there is underlying all that change a living Power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates, dissolves and recreates. That informing Power or Spirit is God. And since nothing else I see merely through the senses can or will persist, He alone is.

And is this Power benevolent or malevolent? I see It as purely benevolent. For I can see that in the midst of death life persists, in the midst of untruth, truth persists, in the midst of darkness light persists. Hence I gather that God is Life, Truth, Light. He is Love. He is the supreme Good.

But he is no God who merely satisfies the intellect if He ever does. God to be God must rule the heart and transform it. He must express Himself in every the smallest act of His votary. This can only be done through a definite realization more real than the five senses can ever produce. Sense perceptions can be, often are, false and deceptive, however real they may appear to us. Where there is realization outside the senses it is infallible. It is proved not by extraneous evidence but in the transformed conduct and character of those who have felt the real presence of God within.

Such testimony is to be found in the experiences of an unbroken line of prophets and sages in all countries and climes. To reject this evidence is to deny oneself.

This realization is preceded by an immovable faith. He who would in his own person test the fact of God's presence can do so by a living faith. And since faith itself cannot be proved by extraneous evidence, the safest course is to believe in the moral government of the world and therefore in the supremacy of the moral law, the law of truth and love. Exercise of faith will be the safest where there is a clear determination summarily to reject all that is contrary to Truth and Love.

But the foregoing does not answer the correspondent's argument. I confess to him that I have no argument to convince him through reason. Faith transcends reason. All I can advise him to do is not to attempt the impossible. I cannot account for the existence of evil by any rational method. To want to do so is to be coequal with God. I am therefore humble enough to recognize evil as such. And I call God long-suffering and patient precisely because He permits evil in the world. I know that He has no evil in Him, and yet if there is evil, He is the author of it and yet untouched by it.

I know too that I shall never know God if I do not wrestle with and against evil even at the cost of life itself. I am fortified in the belief by my own humble and limited experience. The purer I try to become, the nearer I feel to be to God. How much more should I be, when my faith is not a mere apology as it is today but has become as immovable as the Himalayas and as white and bright as the snows on their peaks? Meanwhile I invite the correspondent to pray with Newman who sang from experience:

Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
    Lead Thou me on;
The night is dark and I am far from home,
    Lead Thou me on;
Keep Thou my feet, I do not ask to see
The distant scene; one step enough for me.

Young India, 11-10-1928

390. LETTER TO KHURSHED NAOROJI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 11, 1928

I have your long letter, and I am glad you have written to me so fully. There is no cause whatsoever for losing hope. Yours is a new venture. It may therefore take time. But I do want you to add Indian music to your accomplishments, if it is at all possible to do so.

Do come again and pass a few days at the Ashram with me. Nothing can be finer than that you should be able to take to the Ashram life, but I know that it is a very difficult thing for you to do.

At present we have an Austrian couple. Wife knows both vocal and instrumental music. She seems to be very accomplished. She speaks English only indifferently. She is very fond of sacred music. How I wish you could meet her and hear her.

MISS KHURSHED NAOROJI
NAPEAN SEA ROAD, MALABAR HILLS, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13546

391. LETTER TO JUGALKISHORE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 11, 1928

MY DEAR JUGALKISHORE,

Your letter has been in my file for a long time, but I have been helpless. It is only today whilst everybody is spinning and I have also to spin much longer than on ordinary days that I have been able to find time for overtaking the arrears of correspondence.

Your scheme is good, but reads very ambitious. Two things occur to me. You offer Rs. 75 to those who are married and Rs. 30 to those who are unmarried. I think that you should abolish the distinction, and offer the same thing to either. You may say that you will consider the cases of married people on merits. And if the wives of such people are also prepared to do

the village work, stipend may be increased. You should also have a pledge from all about khadi, untouchability, temperance, etc. And instead of saying Hindi preferably, you should make Hindi compulsory. I think you should firmly refuse to take those who do not know Hindi well. You are quite right in saying that your sphere of work will be in the U.P. Why therefore burden yourself with any student who does not know Hindi well?

I am not publishing the scheme just now. In any event, you do not expect me to publish it in full. Let me know if it has already been sanctioned and in working order and if it is, I will gladly notice it in the pages of *Young India*.

I hope both of you are keeping well and doing well.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13703

392. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU

October 12, 1928

MOTILAL NEHRU
ALLAHABAD

SORRY HEAR YOUR FEVER. WIRE CONDITION ALSO KAMALA'S.

GANDHI

From handwritten draft: S.N. 2456

393. TELEGRAM TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

October 12, 1928

VALLABHBHAI PATEL
SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI

EXPECTED LETTER RECEIVED REPUDIATING CATEGORICALLY ANY UNDERSTANDING. BETTER COME HERE CONSIDER FURTHER STEPS.

BAPU

From handwritten draft: S.N. 2456

394. TELEGRAM TO MEERUT POLITICAL CONFERENCE

October 12, 1928

SECRETARY, POLITICAL CONFERENCE
MEERUT

SORRY UNABLE ATTEND. WISH CONFERENCE EVERY SUCCESS.

GANDHI

From handwritten draft: S.N. 2456

395. LETTER TO ELIZABETH KNUDSEN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 12, 1928

DEAR MISS KNUDSEN,

I was delighted to receive your letter after such a long time.

I endorse your rebuke about roses. You are not aware evidently of the tremendous movement that is going on in India at the present moment for the uplift of women.

I hope you are doing and keeping well.

Yours sincerely,

MISS E. KNUDSEN
Y.W.C.A. BUILDING, KARACHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13548

396. LETTER TO SIR M. V. JOSHI[1]

October 12, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter which was received only yesterday. As I have already intimated in reply to a previous enquiry through

[1] In reply to his letter (S.N. 13545) dated October 9, requesting Gandhiji to give evidence before the Age of Consent Committee at his convenience during their stay at Ahmedabad from October 15 to 19. The Committee was appointed by the Government, following discussions on the Child-marriage Bill introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly, to examine and report on the question.

Shrimati Saraladevi Ambalal Sarabhai, I very much regret that I shall be unable to give evidence before your Committee. I hope you will therefore please excuse me.

Yours sincerely,

SIR M. V. JOSHI
AGE OF CONSENT COMMITTEE, CAMP AHMEDABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 13550

397. LETTER TO R. N. SHRIVASTAVA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 12, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. Evidently we look at the same thing from opposite points of view. You think that killing in self-defence is not *himsa*, whereas the killing of the calf for its own good, no matter how mistaken it might afterwards be discovered to be, is *himsa*. Here I see no meeting ground. I regard even the killing of a snake to be *himsa*. That I may not be able to avoid it, being afraid of the snake, does not make the act of destruction any the less *himsa*.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RUP NARAYAN SHRIVASTAVA
C/o SHETH JAMNADAS, M.L.A., JUBBALPUR, C.P.

From a photostat: S.N. 13551

398. LETTER TO S. SUBRAMANIAM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 12, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am sending you the sandals and the *veshti*[1] you are so insistent on, deducting the postage from your donation.

With regard to the good saris and good *veshtis*, they can be had from the Khadi Bhandar, Princess Street, Bombay. I do

[1] Dhoti

not think there is any V.P. system with Malaya. You will therefore have to send them cash before they can execute the order.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. SUBRAMANIAM
GOVERNMENT ENGLISH SCHOOL, SEGAMAT, JOHORE, MALAYA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13552

399. LETTER TO ISAAC SANTRA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 12, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I shall certainly go through the pamphlet when it comes to me. But I prefer doing this kind of work in my own way. At the present moment I am averse to mixing up with any Empire thing because I distrust the Empire.

Yours sincerely,

ISAAC SANTRA, ESQ.
OFFICER-IN-CHARGE, LEPROSY SURVEY
C/o POST MASTER, JAMNER, EAST KHANDESH

From a microfilm: S.N. 13553

400. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 12, 1928

I have your letter before reaching Prabhudas's place. It delights me to find you enjoying your travel and writing so cheerfully about it. I want you to return in full vigour and complete cheerfulness.

There are signs at the Ashram of winter approaching. The nights are now very cool and we require a fair amount of covering. Malaria is on the increase at the Ashram. Rajkishori is down with fever and so is Sarada. Chimanlal and little Sarada had been down for the last three days.

As usual yesterday all the Ashram people, labourers included, had the fruit repast together. We numbered over 300. The repast consisted of dates, groundnuts, bananas and *kismis*[1].

From the original: C.W. 5313. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8203

[1] Raisins

401. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 12, 1928

MY DEAR BHAI,

I have your letter of well-deserved rebuke. But it was Ganesan's oversight pure and simple. The sending was not done through the Ashram. Ganesan is the publisher and he is a very careful man. But somehow or the other he forgot to send a copy[1] to you. Andrews got a copy or copies because he cabled.

And for your rebuke about the omission of Gabriel Isaac, I don't know that the name was omitted. I have just looked up the index to the English translation. I missed his name in the index. But of course that is no proof of the fact that the name is not to be found in the History[2]. But even if it is omitted, of course it is an unintentional omission. I have often talked about him and his sacrifice to the Ashram people. I often think of him and his goodness and simplicity. But I can't account for the omission, if there is an omission. I dare say that some other dear names also have been omitted quite unintentionally.

The confusion about the jails does not much worry me. These inaccuracies are bound to be found when a man with a crowded past beyond, recalls events that happened ten years before the time when he begins to recall them. Is it not enough that the substance of the History is absolutely true and that it is free from any bias? Such is the testimony given by those who have read the book. And I dare say you too will give me the same testimony.

Probably by this time you know the nature of the Memorial to be erected to the memory of Maganlal. But if you have missed that number of *Young India*[3], I may tell you that it is to be a khadi museum in a specially erected building worthy of Maganlal's love for khadi and his technical knowledge. Subscriptions are coming in very slowly because of the interruption of Bardoli, which naturally absorbed the attention of those who would otherwise have paid far more liberally to the Maganlal Memorial and that was as it should have been.

I have the beautiful Dutch postcard.

[1] & [2] Of *Satyagraha in South Africa*; *vide* Vol. XXIX.

[3] Dated May 17, 1928; *vide* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 323-4.

All goes well at the Ashram which is undergoing several changes at the present moment. When they are fully developed you will know all about them through *Young India*. Mira has gone out touring in the spinning area. It is wonderful how she makes herself feel at home in the villages she visits. The Hindi that she has picked up is proving of good value.

At present an Austrian couple are staying here. They are extremely good people. The husband is a professor in a Medical College in Graz and the wife is a fine singer and a finer philosopher. From the commencement of their marriage they have led the life of *brahmacharya*. The merit is all the wife's. She says she never had any sexual desire. They are a wonderful couple in more ways than one.

Ramdas is in Bardoli, Devdas in Delhi. Chhaganlal is here, Mahadev, Pyarelal, Subbiah and the rest of course.

With love from us all,

Yours sincerely,

H. S. L. POLAK, ESQ.
42, 47 & 48 DANES INN HOUSE
265 STRAND, LONDON W.C. 2

From a photostat: S.N. 14394

402. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 12, 1928

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your letters. You will see in your copy of *Young India* your article, "The Land of *Rishis*"[1].

The question of Sastri's successor is proving very troublesome. I do not know what the Government of India is doing. But I am getting a little nervous. It is difficult to replace Sastri and, if they use the post for favourites, all the great work that Sastri has done can be easily undone.

At the Ashram all is well except that we have the malaria of the season rather trying while it lasts.

MOHAN

From a photostat: S.N. 14409

[1] *Vide* "An Ashram of *Rishis*", 21-10-1928.

403. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 12, 1928

MY DEAR MIRA,

I have your letter. Here is Padmaja's[1] reply to my letter. What can I do now when doctors themselves advise her not to leave the sanatorium? I shall write to her again and write to her from time to time and keep myself in touch with her. You must fulfil your engagements without any anxiety. God will take care of her better than you and I, and use us as His instruments whenever He wills.

I hope you will keep good health during your tour. I expect to hear from you from time to time.

The political atmosphere is none too calm, none too clear. Poor Motilalji has his work cut out for him.

SHRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU
C/o THOMAS COOK & SONS, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N.14410

404. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 12, 1928

MY DEAR CHILD,

I had your letter after a long lapse of time. It was therefore doubly welcome. I hope that this finds you in better health and that if there was an operation that it was quite successful and has left no ill effects.

The Ashram is undergoing many changes at the present moment. You will see them all described in the pages of *Young India* when the time comes. Except for malaria which is seasonal for this time of the year, everything goes well here.

Remember me to Menon when you write to him.

MRS. ESTHER MENON

From a photostat: S.N. 14411

[1] Addressee's daughter

405. A CRUEL CUSTOM

A Kathiawari gentleman writes to say:[1]

This difficulty is a genuine one in all Hindu households and not only in Kathiawar. If a young husband who has become conscious of his dharma wishes to save himself, he should find a way to do so. He should politely reason with his parents and bring home to them the true nature of marriage. If he has any difficulty in convincing them, he should insist upon living apart from his wife so long as he cannot live independently. Where there is a will, there is a way. Man can add to his stature by finding out ways to solve difficulties and can also develop his human estate.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-10-1928

406. COWS IN BARDOLI

A Bania gentleman from the Bardoli taluk writes to say:[2]

If the above facts are true, this also should be taken up as an essential activity in the constructive work that is being done at persent in Bardoli. It has been repeatedly pointed out in *Navajivan* how great harm is done to an ox if it is not castrated. There is no doubt that almost an equal quantity of milk can be got from the cow as from the buffalo, but this result can be achieved only if the cow is reared in a scientific manner. On the whole, if we wish to spare ourselves the slaughter of the male buffalo, we should turn our full attention to an improvement in the breeding of cows. It can easily be proved that the cow and her progeny are far more useful than the buffalo and her progeny. We have

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had complained that in Kathiawar married couples living with parents did not see much of each other during day time and asked how husband and wife could exchange ideas and how the husband could obtain the wife's consent to continence.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that in Bardoli and other taluks it was mostly the Raniparaj community that maintained cows. The higher castes preferred buffaloes. They also refused, on sentimental grounds, to get calves castrated and let even very young or weak oxen go free in the village to meet cows through a misplaced sense of piety, which resulted in the progressive degeneration of the cow's offspring.

paid no attention to the fact that successive generations of cows will become enfeebled if a cow is served by any and every ox. If the problem of the cow could be solved as a result of the great awakening in Bardoli, the people there would have significantly added to the services they have rendered through their satyagraha.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-10-1928

407. *SAD PLIGHT*

A young man writes:[1]

Though this young man has furnished his name, he wishes for a remedy through the columns of *Navajivan*, since there are many others like him. I have no panacea to offer. I regard this as a kind of disease. I know that many people suffer from it. I shall indicate what has benefited some persons.

Faith in God is the most essential thing in this. And those who have this faith ask for God's help in their helplessness and receive it. Rather than get involved in such arguments as whom should one pray to, is God free thus to help, and if He is, why does He not avert the disease before He is prayed to, since He dwells in everyone's heart and should become aware of the disease, etc., etc., we should regard His ways as inscrutable and, following the example of others who have saved themselves by taking refuge in Him, we should have faith and offer heartfelt prayers to Him.

Effort on our part is as essential as prayer. A prayer without effort becomes a mere show. It is empty. Mere mechanical repetition of words which do not proceed from the heart is futile. Moreover, anyone who makes an effort immediately gains self-confidence. Constant physical work is essential to such effort, no matter how light that work may be. Reading material should be such as to nurture pure thoughts. Privacy should be altogether shunned. It is imperative to give up co-habitation with one's wife. Having taken all these measures, one should totally forget about one's disease and, if one is constantly occupied in physical activity, one will not even be reminded of it.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-10-1928

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent, a young man of nineteen and married, was unable to shake off the habit of self-abuse which rendered him weaker day by day.

408. A CONUNDRUM[1]

Some fiery champions of ahimsa, who seem bent upon improving the finances of the Postal Department, inundate me with letters full of abuse, and are practising *himsa* in the name of ahimsa. They would if they could prolong the calf controversy[2] indefinitely. Some of them kindly suggest that my intellect has suffered decay with the attainment of sixtieth year. Some others have expressed the regret that the doctors did not diagnose my case as hopeless when I was sent to the Sassoon Hospital[3] and cut short my sinful career by giving me a poison injection in which case the poor calf in the Ashram might have been spared the poison injection and the race of monkeys saved from the menace of destruction. These are only a few characteristic samples from the sheaf-fuls of 'love-letters' that I am receiving daily. The more I receive these letters the more confirmed I feel in the correctness of my decision to ventilate this thorny question in the columns of *Navajivan*. It never seems to have struck these good people that by this unseemly exhibition of spleen they merely prove their unfitness to be votaries or exponents of ahimsa and strike it at the very root. I turn however from these fulminations to one from among a batch of letters of a different order that I have received and I take the following from it:

> Your exposition of the ethics of the "calf-incident" has cleared up a lot of my doubts and shed valuable light on the implications of ahimsa. But unfortunately it raises a fresh difficulty. Suppose, for instance, that a man begins to oppress a whole people and there is no other way of putting a stop to his oppression; then proceeding on the analogy of the calf, would it not be an act of ahimsa to rid society of his presence by putting him to death? Would you not regard such an act as an unavoidable necessity and therefore as one of ahimsa? In your discussion about the killing of the calf you have made the mental attitude the principle criterion of ahimsa. Would not according to this principle the destruction of proved tyrants be counted as ahimsa, since the motive inspiring the act is of the highest? You say that there is no *himsa* in

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 14-10-1928. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

[2] *Vide* "The Fiery Ordeal", 30-9-1928.

[3] Where he was operated upon for appendicitis in January 1924; *vide* Vol. XXIII, pp. 189-90,

> killing off animal pests that destroy a farmer's crops; then why should it not be ahimsa to kill human pests that threaten society with destruction and worse?

The discerning reader will have already perceived that this correspondent has altogether missed the point of my argument. The definition of ahimsa that I have given cannot by any stretch of meaning be made to cover a case of manslaughter such as the correspondent in question postulates. I have nowhere described the unavoidable destruction of life that a farmer has to commit in pursuit of his calling as ahimsa. One may regard such destruction of life as unavoidable and condone it as such, but it cannot be spelt otherwise than as *himsa*. The underlying motive with the farmer is to subserve his own interest or, say, that of society. Ahimsa on the other hand rules out such interested destruction. But the killing of the calf was undertaken for the sake of the dumb animal itself. Anyway its good was the only motive.

The problem mentioned by the correspondent in question may certainly be compared to that of the monkey nuisance. But then there is a fundamental difference between the monkey nuisance and the human nuisance. Society as yet knows of no means by which to effect a change of heart in the monkeys and their killing may therefore be held as pardonable, but there is no evil-doer or tyrant who need be considered beyond reform. That is why the killing of a human being out of self-interest can never find a place in the scheme of ahimsa.

To come now to the question of motive, whilst it is true that mental attitude is the crucial test of ahimsa, it is not the sole test. To kill any living being or thing save for his or its own interest is *himsa* however noble the motive may otherwise be. And a man who harbours ill-will towards another is no less guilty of *himsa* because for fear of society or want of opportunity, he is unable to translate his ill-will into action. A reference to both intent and deed is thus necessary in order finally to decide whether a particular act of abstention can be classed as ahimsa. After all, intent has to be inferred from a bunch of correlated acts.

Young India, 18-10-1928

409. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKER PATTANI

Aso Sud 1 [October 14, 1928][1]

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I have your letter.

There is no question of one confined to bed spinning. Even your pledge exempts you from that obligation during illness. If you give up spinning through lethargy or on the pretext of being too busy, I would certainly have some harsh words to say, would even consider employing satyagraha against you provided I loved you enough for the purpose. I would not make any such unreasonable demand on you that even during illness you should continue spinning. If, moreover, Lady Pattani is now spinning, as you say, with sincere faith, to me it is as good as your spinning. But I have doubt about her spinning with such faith. I regard your certificate as partial, so that I myself should test her sincerity. You also tell me that she does not always wear *pankoru.* If one has sincere faith, would one omit to wear it any time? *Pankoru* is a household word among us. She may wear *pankoru* of any thinness she likes; I don't take this word to mean necessarily coarse cloth. It means cloth made from yarn of whatever quality spun by our sisters and daughters. It is in your hand to spin yarn that is fine. Well, I have addressed this letter to Ramabehn, it seems.

Here are a few of the things I expect from you. You should provide in your budget for expenditure on things manufactured in your State, as you provide for expenditure for collecting revenue. At present, that expenditure is borne by me. But how much longer can I afford it?

Please prepare and send me a report, for public or for my information, of the results of the law enforcing prohibition in your State.

The State should run a model dairy in accordance with the principles explained by the Government Dairy expert in his articles in *Young India.* I am sure you will incur no loss through it in the end.

You can take up these things even while you are bed-ridden.

[1] The year is inferred from the reference to articles on running a dairy which appeared in *Young India*, 27-9-1928 and 11-10-1928.

After you have been able to attend to them, you may ask me for more suggestions.

But one thing I should say above all else. Leave the bed. You will think this a difficult task and so do I. But to succeed in that, along with doctors, you should consult a few quacks too. One of them is Kuvalayananda. It seems you know him. I have not been able to assess the value of his work. There is one other quack like him. He does not know anything about yoga and employs water-treatment. If you wish to collect persons of that kind round you, all I can do to help you is to inquire about them. After you have heard them, follow any of their treatments which appeals to you and seems harmless. There is no reason why you should remain bed-ridden. Am I also not one of these quacks?

But at present I am useless. In any case, Rama is there, the greatest Vaid. If my efforts to know Him had succeeded, I would have certainly sent Him to you. But, alas, will I ever see such a lucky day?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 3217. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani

410. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

Silence Day, October 15, 1928

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I got your letter. Mirabehn has written to me in detail about the shortcomings in Jethalal's work. She says that Jethalal has agreed to rectify the mistakes. You should go on goading him.

I have understood the balance-sheet drawn up by you. I would advise you not to make sub-divisions of untruth. Exaggeration, half-truth, conniving at untruth — all this is untruth. We generally treat ourselves generously, whereas we ought to be parsimonious. We should magnify our own faults, small as mustard grains, into big mountains.

I have also observed something like this in regard to *brahmacharya*. What we often condone as violation of mental *brahmacharya* is in fact violation of physical *brahmacharya*. For instance, unclean touch is always a violation of physical *brahmacharya*, and so is unclean joking. Unclean means prompted by impure thoughts.

I need not say this to you. But it has become necessary now to explain it to all inmates of the Ashram. When I examine my own

life, I see this laxity in myself too, and that is why I caution you. The truth is that a pure life is a new birth, and one does not get it without God's grace.

"As long as the elephant relied on his own strength so long he failed."[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6062. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

411. LETTER TO VIPIN BIHARI

October 15, 1928

BHAI VIPIN,

I have your letter. It is almost impossible for me to go or send someone. I congratulate you all on being able to persuade Sadhu Vaswani[2] to come over to Motihari. It is needless to tell the students of Bihar that true learning means increasing purity of life, i.e., being simple and straightforward.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI VIPIN BIHARI
RECEPTION COMMITTEE, STUDENTS' CONFERENCE
MOTIHARI, BIHAR

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 9128.

412. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

October 15, 1928

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

Your letters come in regularly. By now your wife must have fully recovered. There is only one way of attaining peace of mind — to impress Ramanama upon the heart.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 196

[1] The allusion is to the legendary Gajendra, king of elephants, who was rescued by Krishna from the clutches of a crocodile.

[2] T. L. Vaswani

413. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

October 15, 1928

CHI. BRAJKISAN,

Your letter. Similar doubts have been expressed in many other letters. I have answered them in *Navajivan*,[1] so I write nothing here. I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2360

414. LETTER TO KARIM GOOLAMALI[2]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 16, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You are in the same boat as the Vaishnavites, a sect to which I belong by birth. And these sectarian abuses can only be dealt with by the members of the respective sects. There seems to me to be no royal road to reform except through constant striving and levelling up of public opinion.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

KARIM GOOLAMALI, ESQ.
KHARADHAR, KARACHI

From a photostat: G.N. 233

415. LETTER TO DR. C. MUTHU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 16, 1928

DEAR DR. MUTHU,

I have your letter. You won't ask me to sign any appeal please. You won't find my name in any appeal save those which

[1] *Vide* "The Fiery Ordeal", 30-9-1928. The article appeared in *Hindi Navajivan*, 4-10-1928.

[2] The typewritten office copy (S.N. 13556) of this letter bears the note: "Regarding Khoja community and the large amount of money spent by H. H. Agakhan in Europe (letter destroyed)".

I have myself inaugurated, for the simple reason that if I sign one I should have to sign many, and I do not like the idea of having to do so. I hope however that you will be able soon to finish the sanatorium and realize your ambition.

Yours sincerely,

DR. C. MUTHU
9 MONTEITH ROAD, EGMORE, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 13555

416. LETTER TO ROY HOPKINS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 16, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter enclosing a cheque for £ 5 for a short article that you want me to give you on 'peace'. I have not a moment to spare just now to write anything beyond my own appointments, and I hope I am humble enough to realize that the world is not waiting to know from me anything about the ways of securing peace for which it is thirsting.

I return the cheque you have kindly sent me. Even if I write anything I should not do it for remuneration, having never done it. Having written for some papers, I have received moneys on several occasions which have gone as contributions to the upkeep of public activities I am engaged in. Nobody is likely easily to get from me any writing because I am so chary of writing for anybody or any paper. You will therefore please forgive me for returning your cheque and also for my inability to write for you.

Yours sincerely,

ROY HOPKINS, ESQ.
MANAGING DIRECTOR, LONDON GENERAL PRESS
8 BOUVERIES STREET, LONDON E.C. 4

From a photostat: S.N. 14388

417. LETTER TO RUKHI GANDHI

October 16, 1928

CHI. RUKHI,

You would like, wouldn't you, that I should reply immediately? You were wise in keeping silent about the bullock. As you are keeping well and doing good work there, I do not feel eager to ask you to come over here.

Live as you will, but so
As to realize God.

Keshu seems to have settled down well. About Radha, I cannot say anything yet. We are having a good malaria exhibition these days.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. RUKSHAMANI
C/o KHUSHALBHAI GANDHI
OPPOSITE MIDDLE SCHOOL
NAVA PURA, RAJKOT

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 8761: Courtesy: Radhabehn Chaudhari

418. SASTRI'S WORK

A graphic letter received this week from an eye-witness describes the now famous Klerksdorp incident of which the South African Press is full. Though nothing remains or needs to be said from the political standpoint after the full, free and frank apology from the Union Government, too much cannot be said of Sjt. Sastri's generous and courageous behaviour in the face of a plot which might have proved fatal in its result. The letter before me shows that this true son and representative of India stood his ground without the least nervousness even when the lights were put out by the party that had come led by the Deputy Mayor to break up the meeting he was addressing. And when the firing of an explosive had made the meeting hall too suffocating for the audience, Sjt. Sastri went outside and, as if nothing untoward or serious had happened, finished his speech without even referring to the incident. Popular as he had already become

among the Europeans of South Africa before this incident, his cool courage and generous behaviour raised him still further in their estimation.

And as he wanted no fame for himself (few men would be found shier than Sjt. Sastri of fame), he turned his popularity to the advancement of the cause he has represented with such singular ability and success. During his all too brief stay in South Africa he has immensely raised the status of our countrymen in that part of the world. Let us hope that they will by their exemplary conduct show themselves worthy of him.

But Sastri's contribution to the solution of the difficult and delicate problem of South Africa does not rest merely upon what was after all an accident. We know nothing except through the results of the inner working of the ambassador's office in which he had to exhaust all his art of a diplomacy that comes from a conviction of the correctness of one's cause and that spurns to do or countenance anything wrong, mean or crooked. But we do know how unsparing he has been in the use on behalf of his cause of the gifts of eloquence, scholarship, both English and Sanskrit and great and varied learning with which nature has lavishly endowed him. He has been delivering to large and select audiences of Europeans lectures on Indian philosophy and culture which have stirred European imagination and softened the hard crust of prejudice which has hitherto prevented the general body of Europeans from seeing anything good in the Indian. These lectures are perhaps his greatest and the most permanent contribution to the Indian cause in South Africa.

It must be a serious problem for the Government of India to choose Sjt. Sastri's successor. He has persistently withstood all pressure to prolong his stay in South Africa. Letters from South Africa show me how our people dread Sjt. Sastri's impending departure. It will be a calamity if a worthy successor is not found to continue the mission so successfully inaugurated and represented by Sjt. Sastri. Tradition has, I hope, been set up at the Viceregal Lodge of treating the office of India's Agent in South Africa as neutral ground which the Government and popular parties may jointly tread. It is to be hoped that the successor to be chosen will be one who will commend himself equally to the Government and the people, and who will truly represent not merely the Government of India but the people as well.

Young India, 18-10-1928

419. *TELEGRAM TO N. C. KELKAR*[1]

October 18, 1928

APART OTHER REASONS I WOULD BE EXCUSED EVEN FOR SAKE OF SUCCESS SUCH CONFERENCE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13705

420. *LETTER TO PERIN CAPTAIN*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 18, 1928

I have your two letters. You will certainly come with me to Calcutta and sell whatever stuff you like, but not at the Exhibition.

Mrs. P. Byramji did meet me when I was in Nagpur and buy a lot of khadi. But beyond this I cannot say. That is all. Where is the question of trusting when our rule is to sell only for cash?

I have had a chat with Kakasaheb. He tells me he has no recollection of having made you any promise or told you anything about his ability to sell khadi for you at the Vidyapith. And he can have no customers for embroidered khadi. Did he tell you he had any bhandar?

I am keeping quite well.

MRS. PERIN CAPTAIN

From a microfilm: S.N. 13559

[1] In reply to his telegram of October 17 from Poona which read: "Supposing we decide to hold Bombay Presidency All-Parties Conference at Poona on Saturday 27th for one day before Simon Commission's departure to uphold and popularize Nehru Report and Lucknow resolutions could you consent presiding? Informing final decision after your wire."

421. LETTER TO L. V. PATTANAYAKA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 18, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. *Karmabhumi* means to me a land not of enjoyment of pleasure but enjoyment of work by way of sacrifice.

My authority for saying that Sita was spinning is based upon a fact that, in her times, as history tells us every household had a spinning-wheel. There is no reason to believe that Sita's household was an exception.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. L. V. PATTANAYAKA
P.O. DIGAPAHANDI (GANJAM)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13560

422. LETTER TO YAJNESHWAR PRASAD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 18, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you.

With reference to the boy who is suffering from tuberculosis, if he is old enough to judge for himself, I think he should use his own discretion and take whatever he considers is not objectionable from the religious standpoint. If, however, he is too young to decide for himself, it is proper for him to submit to his father's wishes.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. YAJNESHWAR PRASAD
790 NAI BASTI, QUEEN'S ROAD, DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13561

423. *LETTER TO BINA DAS*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 18, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter which has been with me for some time now. I have nowhere advocated the use of physical force even for self-defence. What I have said is that the use of physical force is preferable to cowardice, that is to say, it is wrong not to use force when we have a mind to do so but which we do not use because we fear to die. What I do advocate is the courage to die whether for self-defence or whether for the cause of one's country.

Yours sincerely,

SHRIMATI BINA DAS
7 RAM MOHAN ROY ROAD, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13562

424. *LETTER TO URMILA DEVI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 18, 1928

I have your letter. You are never without your full share of worries. I hope however that Dhiren is now fairly restored to health.

Devdhar can be found at his house or at the Seva Sadan. When he is in Poona, I think he always goes to the Seva Sadan.

We have many patients suffering from malaria at the Ashram just now. It is nothing surprising because it is the season. It never worries us because the treatment is only one: fast while the fever lasts and quinine preceded by some opening medicine.

SHRIMATI URMILA DEVI
JANHAVI VILLA, P.O. DECCAN GYMKHANA, POONA

From a photostat: S.N. 13563

425. LETTER TO T. R. PHOOKAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 18, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. What appeal can I issue for you to take? What I have suggested is that you should personally go to moneyed Congressmen and ask them to help you out of the difficulty.[1] I feel that that is the only proper course for you to adopt, and I feel also that those Congressmen who have money should bear the burden. I suggest your taking an audited account to them.

You are at liberty to make whatever use you like of this letter for approaching Congressmen.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. R. PHOOKAN
GAUHATI (ASSAM)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13564

426. LETTER TO MAHARAJA OF NABHA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 18, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[2] I had a visit too from Sjt. Ganesan. I regret I am unable to help you. I have given you my reasons and I gave them to those friends who came to see me on your behalf.

Yours sincerely,

H. H. THE MAHARAJAH OF NABHA
THE OBSERVATORY, KODAIKANAL, SOUTH INDIA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13565

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to T. R. Phookan", 6-10-1928.

[2] In his letter of September 19, Gurucharan Singh, deposed Maharaja of Nabha, had requested Gandhiji to help him get justice and separation from Government,

427. *LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 18, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your two letters.

Of course I shall obey your wishes about attending the Congress at Calcutta.

I did not refer to the Exhibition incident with a view to securing your intervention.[1] I would not in any way whatsoever like to be interfering with the local discretion. I simply told you of my own difficulty. I have certainly not objected to machines as such at all. My objection was and is to the exhibition of Indian mill-cloth. Regarding machinery my argument is that we may not exhibit any and every machinery but that we may certainly exhibit such machinery which we ourselves know to be desirable for the cultivators and which has not yet obtained vogue in the country.

I quite agree with you that we have to go on with the political work in spite of the riots.

I had your reassuring telegram about your own health and Kamala's. You will have to be in an absolutely good form in Calcutta because you will have more than enough to do there.

Yours sincerely,

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAVAN, ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 13707

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Motilal Nehru", 30-9-1928.

428. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

October 19, 1928

CHI. MIRA,

I have been having your perfect letters. They please me and relieve me of all anxiety. You will not mind my not sending you anything long or regular just now. About Prabhudas, Chhaganlal will be wiring you.

Love.

BAPU

SHRIMATI MIRABAI
JAMIA MILLIA, KAROL BAGH, DELHI

From the original: C.W. 5314. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8204

429. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

October 19, 1928

MIRABEHN
CARE DEVDAS
KAROL BAGH, DELHI

REGARDING PRABHUDAS USE YOUR OWN JUDGEMENT AND DO WHAT YOU THINK BEST.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5315. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G. N. 8205

430. LETTER TO B. G. HORNIMAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 20, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your first letter which I reached after the allotted time was passed and so remained silent about it. I received your second letter yesterday and there was no time to acknowledge it there and then. If you pass 24 hours with me in the Ashram you will never ask me for an article even of five words, let alone 100 words. I have neither time nor energy for anything more

than what just now engages my attention. You will therefore please excuse me for disappointing.

Yours sincerely,

B. G. HORNIMAN, ESQ.
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13566

431. 'AN ASHRAM OF RISHIS'

An article under this heading which has been sent by Deenabandhu Andrews has been published in *Young India*[1].

In a city called Marburg in Germany, there is a university which has been called an ashram of *rishis* by Deenabandhu in this article. It contains a readable description of an elderly professor who leads the life of a *rishi* there. The Vedas are studied on an extensive scale in the Marburg University. And the Vedas seem to have made such a deep impression on the lives of the professors who study them that they themselves lead the life of *rishis*. Professor Otto seems to be pre-eminent amongst these professors. Here is a description of him:[2]

> At the house of Professor Otto, where I was staying, it was indeed a happiness to be his guest, even for a short time. He has never married. He has spent his whole life in Vedic scholarship. His hair is white, and his sister, who is nearly the same age as himself, now keeps house for him. She treated me as a mother while I was there, looking after all my wants, in a very touching manner. Almost from the very first, the glowing, ardent love for India in Professor Otto's heart became visible to me through the animation, which lit up his face, while he related to me his experiences on his different visits. Yet his own health had suffered terribly in India. The malaria, which had infected him as early as 1912, never wholly left his system; and after his visit to India last year, he became a complete invalid for many months, lying on his back with heart weakness. He has not even yet recovered. Yet still India remains the land of his early dreams, and he has studied every feature of India's civilization with minutest care. Above all, he has studied deeply the Hindu religion, not only in the Vedas, Upanishads and *Gita*, but also both in its Puranas and in its modern forms of worship. His know-

[1] Dated 11-10-1928

[2] The following description has been taken from Andrews's article in *Young India*.

ledge of Indian detail was to me amazing. This has been due to the fact, that in one way or other his whole life has been spent in research. Sanskrit is almost[1] like his own mother tongue to him; and he can use it when necessary as a second language.

I have here translated the description of only one of the *rishis*. We should admit with shame that the zeal, the earnestness and the perseverance with which some scholars in Europe and, especially in Germany, pursue the study of such treatises as the Vedas are something almost totally absent in this country today. It is very seldom that we come across anyone emulating the life of a *rishi*. And where do we see now *brahmacharya* being readily practised solely for scholastic reasons, without any accompanying ostentation? And when a sister remains a spinster in order to be a companion to her brother and to run his home, is this not something that delights one and creates a sacred atmosphere? The other day an American professor had narrated his experiences in *The Times* of Bombay. He too is a student of Sanskrit. He writes that he had come to India full of hopes; however, he had been disappointed after coming to India, seeing things for himself and meeting Sanskrit pundits. His article contains exaggerations, is full of hastily-formed judgements and is coloured by the atmosphere created by Europeans living in India. But allowing for all this, I see a grain of truth in what remains, and I feel ashamed. If there had been a true religious awakening in us, if we had the fervour to preserve whatever was true, good and beautiful in our ancient civilization, our condition would have been very different today. *Rishis* could live fearlessly in forests. *Brahmacharya* was something that they could readily practise. Today we cannot live safely even in cities. *Brahmacharya* appears to be something strange and wonderful to us and we shall with difficulty come across a true *brahmachari* if we search for one. How then can we find any women who have taken the vow of celibacy? Hence for a moment one feels that the *rishis* have started living in scattered corners of Europe and no longer live in this country which once was their abode.

This is not to suggest that anyone who reads this article should go over to Germany or some other place and try to become a *rishi*. That too will be futile. I cannot visualize an Indian going to Germany and becoming a *rishi*. It is right for Indians to imitate the good qualities of a person like Professor Otto and, while remaining in India, to revitalize the institution of *rishis* here. It can be claimed

[1] The source has "about".

that the Arya Samaj has made superhuman efforts in this direction. But those attempts are like a drop in the ocean so far as India is concerned. It is only when even mightier efforts are made that we shall be able to find the lost key to our ancient civilization.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-10-1928

432. *SIMPLE-MINDED LABOURERS*

From a letter which I have received from Panchmahals, it appears that immoral and greedy agents lure simple-minded Rajputs and others and recruit them for serving in the tea-gardens of Assam. Thus I have received affidavits concerning twelve labourers. It is obvious from this that under the pretext of giving them work in the neighbourhood of Baroda, young men and women were taken as far away as Assam.

The question is not whether they are happy or otherwise in Assam, but how anyone can be deceived and taken so far away. The persons who signed the affidavits inform me that they had to go leaving behind their fields. These poor persons had gone in the hope of being employed as labourers in nearby places and now they have been ensnared, and have had to leave behind their worried relations.

There is only one way of preventing this situation. The agents deceive the labouring classes and lure them with false temptations for the sake of their commission. If this commission business is entirely stopped, no one will be deceived any longer. The owners of tea-gardens in Assam have the right to recruit labourers in a proper way by laying down proper conditions. Let them advertise in an honest manner. But the practice of recruiting labourers through agents should be terminated. Agents receive commission in respect of every labourer they recruit. It is rumoured that the amount is Rs. 10 per head. Hence the agent who can deceive thirty labourers every month earns Rs. 300 a month. This is no small temptation. Hence, no matter what warning the owners give to the agents, the latter are hardly going to be deterred from practising such devious means.

As a matter of fact, if a job is worth while and sufficiently tempting, intermediaries should not become necessary. Experience indicates that they become necessary only when a job involves hard labour, the wage is meagre, and it involves going far away

from one's home for the job. That the job may be at a distance from home is inevitable. There is no doubt, however, that labourers will go on their own if the conditions relating to wages, etc., are tempting. If the sums paid as agents' commission, etc., are spent on providing better facilities to the labourers, the incidents of hardships to which these affidavits bear witness will be done away with.

However, whether the owners withdraw their agents or not, public servants who come to know of these hardships should spread knowledge of the true facts among the people and warn them against being caught in the grip of the agents.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-10-1928

433. MY NOTES

When Should Punishment Be Awarded?

A teacher of the Vinaymandir has put the following questions[1]:

In my opinion, it is simply improper to subject students to any form of punishment. By doing so, the feelings of respect and pure love that teachers should have for students disappear. The method of teaching students by punishing them is being progressively abandoned. I know that occasions do arise when even the best of teachers cannot but inflict punishment. However, this should be an exception and should not in any way be commended. If the best of teachers has to resort to beating, this should in fact be regarded as a drawback in his art. Although an individual like Spencer has looked upon every punishment as improper, he has not always been able to put his theory into practice. After replying to this question, I need not answer in detail the other questions.

Ordinarily, punishment is not compatible with non-violence. Of course, I can conceive of instances in which punishment cannot be regarded as such. These, however, should be regarded as irrelevant so far as teachers are concerned. For instance, if a father who is extremely unhappy punishes his son, it is a case of punishment given out of love. The son, too, would not regard it as an act of violence. Or, when in some cases a delirious patient

[1] Not translated here. He had asked whether pupils should be given corporal punishment for not studying or for moral lapses, especially in national schools.

has to be smacked by the person nursing him, it is not a violent act but a non-violent one. But these instances do not help teachers at all. A teacher has to develop the technique of teaching students and maintaining discipline amongst them without resorting to beating. We have before us instances of such teachers who have never beaten their students. Punishments other than corporal would be to make the student ashamed of himself, make him alternately sit down and stand up, make him hold his toes, abuse him, etc. I feel that teachers should discard all these methods.

To repent after punishing a student in order to improve him is no repentance at all. Moreover, teachers who believe and make their students believe that punishment leads to the latter's improvement, end up by making such a belief take root in society. And this belief creates the illusion that reforms can be brought about through violence. In my opinion, teachers of national schools who deliberately punish their students are indeed guilty of violating their pledge.

BOLSHEVISM[1]

Q. What is your opinion about the social economics of Bolshevism and how far do you think they are fit to be copied by our country?

A. I must confess that I have not yet been able fully to understand the meaning of Bolshevism. All that I know is that it aims at the abolition of the institution of private property. This is only an application of the ethical ideal of non-possession in the realm of economics and if the people adopted this ideal of their own accord or could be made to accept it by means of peaceful persuasion there would be nothing like it. But from what I know of Bolshevism it not only does not preclude the use of force but freely sanctions it for the expropriation of private property and maintaining the collective State ownership of the same. And if that is so I have no hesitation in saying that the Bolshevik regime in its present form cannot last for long. For it is my firm conviction that nothing enduring can be built on violence. But be that as it may there is no questioning the fact that the Bolshevik ideal has behind it the purest sacrifice of countless men and women who have given up their all for its sake, and an ideal that is sanctified by the sacrifices of such master spirits as Lenin cannot go in vain: the noble example of their renunciation will be emblazoned for ever and quicken and purify the ideal as time passes.

[1] The translation of this question and answer is reproduced from *Young India*, 15-11-1928.

THE LATE SHRI DALSUKHBHAI SHAH

Reporting the death of the Godhra lawyer, Shri Dalsukhbhai Shah, last week, Mamasaheb writes as follows:[1]

I had personally known the late Dalsukhbhai. I was fully aware of his gentlemanly qualities. Following close upon the heels of Shri Purushottamdas Shah's death, this second loss that Panchmahals has suffered is really to be regarded as too much. Both these men lent glory to the public life of Panchmahals and were true servants of the people. However, whether at the right time or untimely, all of us have to meet our death. As Mamasaheb writes, it is the task of the youth to make this loss bearable. Moreover, as Chi. Nagindas, the eldest son of the deceased, is a graduate of the Vidyapith, his responsibility has doubled. As a son he must glorify his father's name and add to the legacy of nobility of character that the latter has left. It now becomes his special duty to add to the prestige of the Vidyapith by filling up the void among the public servants of Panchmahals. May God give him strength to fulfil this task, give courage to the family of the deceased and grant peace to the soul of the departed.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 21-10-1928

434. *JAIN AHIMSA?*[2]

A Jain friend who is reputed to have made a fair study of the Jain philosophy as also of the other systems has addressed me a long letter on ahimsa. It deserves a considered reply. He says in effect:

> Your interpretation of ahimsa has caused confusion. In the ordinary sense of the term *himsa* means to sever life from body and not to do so is ahimsa. Refraining from causing pain to any living creature is only an extension of the original meaning which cannot by any stretch of language be made to cover the taking of life. You would not understand me to mean from this that I regard all taking of life as wrong in every possible circumstance; for I do not think

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had said that the deceased was an ideal lawyer who earned his livelihood in an honest way, spun for his own requirements of khadi and gave up practice during the non-co-operation days.

[2] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 21-10-1928. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

that there is any ethical principle in this world that can be regarded as absolute and admitting of no exception whatever. The maxim "Ahimsa is the highest or the supreme duty" embodies a great and cardinal truth but it does not cover the entire sum of human duties. Whilst therefore what you have termed "non-violent killing" may be a right thing it cannot be described as ahimsa.

I am of opinion that just as life is subject to constant change and development, the meanings of terms too are constantly undergoing a process of evolution and this can be amply proved by illustrations from the history of any religion. The word *yajna* or sacrifice in the Hindu religion for instance is an illustration in point. Sir J. C. Bose's discoveries are today revolutionizing the accepted connotations of biological terms. Similarly if we will fully realize ahimsa we may not fight shy of discovering fresh implications of the doctrine of ahimsa. We cannot improve upon the celebrated maxim, "Ahimsa is the highest or the supreme duty" but we are bound, if we would retain our spiritual inheritance, to explore the implications of this great and universal doctrine. But I am not particular about names. I do not mind whether the taking of life in the circumstances I have mentioned is called ahimsa or not, so long as its correctness is conceded.

Another poser mentioned by this friend is as follows:

> I have been unable to follow you in your description of the imaginary killing of your daughter in the hypothetical circumstances described by you.[1] It may be right to kill the ruffian in such a case, but what fault has the poor daughter committed? Would you regard the pollution of the poor victim as a disgrace to be avoided by death? Don't you think that in such circumstances even if the poor girl for fear of public ignominy and shame begs to be put out of life, it would be your duty to dissuade her from her wish? As for me, I do not see the slightest difference between a case of dishonour, rape, and a case in which one has had one's limbs cut off by force.

My reason for putting my daughter to death in circumstances mentioned by me would not be that I feared her being polluted but that she herself would have wished death if she could express her desire. If my daughter wanted to be put out of life because she was afraid of public scandal and criticism I would certainly try to dissuade her from her wish. I would take her life only if I was absolutely certain that she would wish it. I know

[1] *Vide* "The Fiery Ordeal", 30-9-1928.

that Sita would have preferred death to dishonour by Ravana. And that is also what, I believe, our Shastras have enjoined. I know that it is the daily prayer of thousands of men and women that they might have death rather than dishonour. I deem it to be highly necessary that this feeling should be encouraged. I am not prepared to admit that the loss of chastity stands on the same footing as the loss of a limb. But I can imagine circumstances in which one would infinitely prefer death even to being maimed.

The third poser runs:

> I cannot understand why the idea of wounding a few monkeys in order to frighten away the rest instead of straightway proceeding to kill them off should be regarded as intolerable by you. Don't you feel that the longing for life is strong even among the blind and the maimed animals? Don't you think that the impulse to kill a living creature because one cannot bear to see its suffering is a kind of selfishness?

The idea of wounding monkeys is unbearable to me because I know that a wounded monkey has to die a lingering death if left to itself. And if monkeys have to die at all by any act of mine, I would far rather that they were killed summarily than that they were left to die by inches. Again it beats my comprehension how I am practising ahimsa by thus wounding the monkeys instead of killing them outright. It might be a different thing if I was prepared to erect a hospital for wounded monkeys. I concede that the maimed and the blind would evince a longing for life if they have some hope of getting succour or relief. But imagine a blind, ignorant creature, with no faith in God, marooned in a desert place beyond the reach of any help and with a clear knowledge of his plight, and I cannot believe that such a creature would want to continue its existence. Nor am I prepared to admit that it is one's duty to nurse the longing for life in all circumstances.

The fourth poser is as follows:

> The Jain view of ahimsa rests on the following three principles:
>
> "No matter what the circumstances are or how great the suffering, it is impossible for anyone deliberately to renounce the will to live or to wish another to put him out of pain. Therefore the taking of life cannot in any circumstances be morally justified.
>
> "In a world full of activities which necessitate *himsa*, an aspirant for salvation should try to follow ahimsa engaging in the fewest possible activities.
>
> "There are two kinds of *himsa*—direct such as that involved in agriculture, and indirect as that involved in the eating of agricultural produce.

Where one cannot altogether escape from either, a votary of ahimsa should try to avoid direct *himsa*."

I would earnestly request you critically to examine and discuss these three Jain principles of ahimsa in *Navajivan*. I notice that there is a vital difference between your view of ahimsa and that of the Jains. Whereas your view of ahimsa is based on the philosophy of action, that of the Jains is based on that of renunciation of action. The present is an era of action. If the principle of ahimsa be an eternal and universal principle untrammelled by time and place, it seems to me that there is a great need to stimulate the people's mind to think out for themselves as to how the principle of ahimsa that has so far been confined to the field of renunciation only can be worked in present-day life of action and what form it will take when applied to this new environment.

It is with the utmost reluctance that I have to enter into a discussion of these principles. I know the risks of such discussion. But I see no escape from it. As for the first principle I have already expressed my opinion on it in a previous portion of this article. It is my firm conviction that the principle of clinging to life in all circumstances betrays cowardice and is the cause of much of the *himsa* that goes on around us and blind adherence to this principle is bound to increase instead of reducing *himsa*. It seems to me that if this Jain principle is really as it is here enunciated, it is a hindrance to the attainment of salvation. For instance a person who is constantly praying for salvation will never wish to continue his life at the expense of another's. Only a person steeped in ignorance who cannot even remotely understand what salvation means would wish to continue life on any terms. The *sine qua non* of salvation is a total annihilation of all desire. How dare, then, an aspirant for salvation be sordidly selfish or wish to preserve his perishable body at all cost? Descending from the field of salvation to that of the family, one's country, or the world of humanity, we again find innumerable instances of men and women who have dedicated themselves to the service of their family, their country or the world at large in entire disregard of their own life and this ideal of utter self-sacrifice and self-abnegation at present is being inculcated throughout the world. To hang on to life at all cost seems to me the very height of selfishness. Let however nobody understand me to mean that one may try to wean another even from such sordid egoism by force. I am adducing the argument merely to show the fallacy of the doctrine of will to live at all cost.

As for the second, I do not know whether it can at all be

described as a principle. But be that as it may, to me it represents a truism and I heartily endorse it.

Coming to the third principle in the form in which it is enunciated by the friend, it suffers from a grave defect. The most terrible consequence of this principle to me seems to be this that if we accept it then a votary of ahimsa must renounce agriculture although he knows that he cannot renounce the fruits of agriculture and that agriculture is an indispensable condition for the existence of mankind. The very idea that millions of the sons of the soil should remain steeped in *himsa* in order that a handful of men who live on the toil of these people might be able to practise ahimsa seems to me to be unworthy of and inconsistent with the supreme duty of ahimsa. I feel that this betrays a lack of perception of the inwardness of ahimsa. Let us see, for instance, to what it leads to if pushed to its logical conclusion. You may not kill a snake but if necessary, according to this principle, you may get it killed by somebody else. You may not yourself forcibly drive away a thief but you may employ another person to do it for you. If you want to protect the life of a child entrusted to your care from the fury of a tyrant, somebody else must bear the brunt of the tyrant's fury for you. And you thus refrain from direct action in the sacred name of ahimsa! This in my opinion is neither religion nor ahimsa. So long as one is not prepared to take the risks mentioned and to face the consequences, one cannot be free from fear and so long as a man has not shed all fear he is *ipso facto* incapable of practising ahimsa. Our scriptures tell us that ahimsa is all conquering. That before it, even the wild beasts shed their ferocity and the most hard-hearted of tyrants forget their anger. Utterly inadequate and imperfect as my own practice of ahimsa has been, it has enabled me to realize the truth of this principle. I cannot once more help expressing my doubt that Jainism subscribes to the third principle of ahimsa as enunciated by this friend. But even if Jain doctrine is just as it is stated by the friend, I must say, I for one cannot reconcile myself to it.

Now to come to the question of renunciation *versus* action: I believe in the doctrine of renunciation but I hold that renunciation should be sought for in and through action. That action is the *sine qua non* of life in the body, that the Wheel of Life cannot go on even for a second without involving some sort of action goes without saying. Renunciation can therefore in these circumstances only mean detachment or freedom of the spirit from action, even while the body is engaged in action. A follower of

the path of renunciation seeks to attain it not by refraining from all activity but by carrying it on in a perfect spirit of detachment and altruism as a pure trust. Thus a man may engage in farming, spinning, or any other activity without departing from the path of renunciation provided one does so merely for selfless service and remains free from the taint of egoism or attachment. It remains for those therefore who like myself hold this view of renunciation to discover for themselves how far the principle of ahimsa is compatible with life in the body and how it can be applied to acts of everyday life. The very virtue of a dharma is that it is universal, that its practice is not the monopoly of the few, but must be the privilege of all. And it is my firm belief that the scope of Truth and ahimsa is world-wide. That is why I find an ineffable joy in dedicating my life to researches in truth and ahimsa and I invite others to share it with me by doing likewise.

Young India, 25-10-1928

435. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 21, 1928

I am publishing your appeal[1]. But I am not satisfied with it. It is too scrappy and without any body to it. You ought to have given the population in the area affected, the nature of distress and the amount required. How are the people to respond to a general appeal of the type you have framed? It evidently betrays fatigue, haste, worry and overwork. If you want a good response you must send me an appeal worthy of yourself.

How are you doing now?

I hope the calf controversy[2] provides some amusement for you, if it provides no instruction. If I took seriously all the correspondence that comes to me I should have to drown myself in the Sabarmati. As it is, the correspondence affords both entertainment and instruction.

Yours sincerely,

C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

From a photostat: S.N. 13567

[1] *Vide* "Famine in the South", 25-10-1928.
[2] *Vide* "The Fiery Ordeal", 30-9-1928.

436. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

Silence Day, October 22[1]*, 1928*

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have your letter. Ba is better. There is no cause for worry. Nimu arrived yesterday. She is all right. The moment she arrived, she joined in nursing Ba. Others who were ill have almost recovered. You must have got the news about a daughter having been born to Sushila.

Nanabhai has sent a cable that she should be named "Dhairyabala".

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6854

437. LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA

Silence Day [October 22, 1928][2]

BHAI NANABHAI,

I got your letter. There was a cable here too. I asked them to send it to you by post. I felt happy to read your remarks on non-violence in your letter.

I do wish to reply to you, but shall do so when I get some time.

Kishorelal is leaving for that side on Friday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6677

[1] The source has 21; *vide* also the following two items.

[2] The cable mentioned in the letter was presumably from Manilal Gandhi, giving news about Sushila Gandhi having given birth to a daughter; *vide* the following item.

438. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

October 23, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have your letter, as also the cable. By the time you get this, Sushila will have left her bed and Dhairyabala will have learnt to smile. I had a letter from Nanabhai only yesterday, in which he said that he had sent a cable about the name of the baby. This time too if I had not thought of your letter just now, that is, at 3.30 a.m., I would not have written this. It was thus that I missed the last mail. I get very little time these days to write letters and therefore get up at 3 in the morning, sometimes even at 2, and dictate letters.

I wrote[1] to you about Rasik and Navin having gone to Delhi. Ramdas is still in Bardoli. Nimu is here. Ba is ill. There is no cause for worry.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4744

439. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 23, 1928

CHI. MIRA,

I have your wire. Nowadays for me to secure Mondays for love-letters is an impossibility. You must therefore manage without my regular letters. But I must hear regularly from you.

Things are going on fairly well here though I cannot say they are quite settled.

Mahadev has to leave for Bardoli today in connection with the inquiry. He will be away for perhaps a week or longer.

The bakery is making steady progress. Pyarelal has discovered a way of puffing wheat. As soon as it is fully puffed I propose to send you a packet.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Manilal and Sushila Gandhi", After 31-8-1928.

Associated Press had a short message about you in the Press. It is perhaps a report of the meeting referred to by you.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Did I tell you Gregg is here?

MIRABEHN

From the original: C.W. 5316. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8206

440. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 23, 1928

MY DEAR BROTHER,

You have been very good and very kind. Your regular letters have put me at ease and have enabled me to deal with complainants.

You have worked wonders. You have asked me not to press you to prolong your stay and I have religiously refrained and advised our people there to do likewise. But I am trembling to contemplate the future. I hear all kinds of ugly rumours. It will be a tragedy if the post is given not to the best man but to a favourite. I have no name round which to build public opinion. May God keep you for many a year to come.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11994

441. LETTER TO PERIN CAPTAIN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 24, 1928

I now understand what you mean. Mridula has not yet opened her bhandar. If she does and if she will stock your khaddar, there is nothing to prevent her from doing so. In what way can Kakasaheb help you?

The difficulty about Andhra is that so many manufacturers

have proved false. Hence the necessity of exercising the greatest vigilance.

MRS. PERIN CAPTAIN
ISLAM CLUB BUILDINGS, CHOWPATTY, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 13569

442. LETTER TO PRATAP DIALDAS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. What you want and your wife want, to do is not birth-control but abortion. Abortion is a crime in law and in fact, it is likely also permanently to injure your wife's health. I would therefore strongly dissuade you both from the step. Birth-control is prevention by artificial methods of conception, a totally different thing from abortion, which means destruction of the conceived embryo. The only way therefore I can suggest to you is to allow the pregnancy to take its own course and when the child is born to nurse it tenderly. For future protection you should resolutely decline to share the same bed or the same room with your wife and you should avoid all privacy.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. PRATAP DIALDAS
C/o DIALDAS MULCHAND
MAIN BAZAAR, HYDERABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 13571

443. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 24, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I owe a reply to your two letters. Of course if there were only corn fields, monkeys will not give so much worry as they are giving now. What I have to do is to solve the question in such a manner as to be of use to others. It would be no solution to ask people to have only corn fields. The logical consequence of no-tree campaign means no rain and no fruit. The greatest need of India so far as agriculture is concerned is more trees and more fruit trees.

So far as cattle are concerned, I quite agree with you that the ideal is to do without them. That again means doing without agriculture. And in so far as agriculture is concerned, it is not merely the cattle that are concerned, but there is so much inevitable destruction of life in the pursuit of agriculture. All that one can aim at is minimum of destruction and kindly treatment of cattle. I would like you not to worry about this question. And that brings me to your previous letter.

It is in the field of khadi that your ahimsa would be displayed in its fullness, and it is there that you have to solve the question. I know that you will do nothing mechanically, nothing in haste, and things will take their own course and come rightly.

If Hemprabhadevi can come to the Ashram and take her share in the common kitchen and the other activities to the extent that her body allows, I should feel delighted. She can come when she chooses.

Our circular about the Exhibition has gone to all the affiliated and aided organizations.

You will let me know the result of your having sent samples of your khadi to the Karachi Municipality.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN, SODEPUR

From a photostat: G.N. 1597

444. 'DEATH IS REST'[1]

When I am overwhelmed with correspondence betraying in every line fear of death and consequent travesty of ahimsa, it refreshes me to come across the following beautiful dialogue a friend sent me on Maganlal Gandhi's death:

> Tzu Kung said to Confucius,—"Master, I am aweary, and would fain have rest."
>
> "In life," replied the sage, "there is no rest."
>
> "Shall I then never have rest?" asked the disciple.
>
> "You will," said Confucius. "Behold the tombs which lie around; some magnificent, some mean. In one of these you will find rest!"
>
> "How wonderful is Death!" rejoined Tzu Kung. "The wise man rests, the worldly man is engulfed therein."
>
> "My son," said Confucius, "I see what you understand. Other men know life only as a boon; they do not perceive that it is a bane. They know old age as a state of weakness; they do not perceive that it is a state of ease. They know Death only as an abomination; they do not perceive that it is a state of rest."
>
> "How grand," cried Yen Tzu, "is the old conception of Death! The virtuous find rest; the wicked are engulfed therein. In death, each reverts to that from which he came. The ancients regarded death as a return to, and life as an absence from, home. And he, who forgets his home, becomes an outcaste and a byword in his generation."

It is not reproduced to defend the infliction of death *penalty* on any living being or thing. But it is given here to show that death is *not* a terror *in all circumstances* as many correspondents contend and that it may be a deliverance in certain cases, especially when it is *not inflicted as a penalty but administered as a healing balm.* "Death is but a sleep and a forgetting," says the English poet. Let us not seek to prop virtue by imagining hellish torture after death for vice and houris hereafter as a reward for virtue in this life. If virtue has no attraction in itself, it must be a poor thing to be thrown away on the dung heap. Nature, I am convinced, is not so cruel as she seems to us, who are so often filled with cruelty ourselves. Both heaven and hell are within us. Life after Death there is, but it is not so unlike our present experiences as either

[1] An article by Gandhiji on the same subject with an additional concluding paragraph appeared in *Navajivan*, 4-11-1928.

to terrify us or make us delirious with joy. "He is steadfast who rises above joy and sorrow," says the *Gita*. "The wise are unaffected either by death or life." These are but faces of the same coin.[1]

The concept of non-violence in our religion is framed from the standpoint of the pain that we may cause another individual. Why should there be any outcry where death is caused either accidentally or deliberately but without any thought of causing pain? If there is not the fear of death behind that outcry, what else is it? And fear of death does not become man. Where there is this fear, supreme human endeavour in the form of non-violence is impossible.

Young India, 25-10-1928

445. FAMINE IN THE SOUTH[2]

Salem, Coimbatore and other areas in the Tamil country whose peasant population depend on the unsteady rainfall of the central districts are having one of their very worst years. Reports from khadi centres show a terrible increase in rural unemployment. With October, the season for agricultural work generally begins and the peasant women in the khadi areas usually close down their spinning for the next four months. A certain number spin all the year round, but the majority who can work in the fields generally leave the charkhas during this time. But this year instead of a fall in the number of spinners there is an increase and a great rush for cotton at our depots. . . .

The reader must remember that this rush is for a wage of one anna a day. . . .

When will the intelligentsia of India and the well-to-do realize that the cloth that we wear is not mere covering or adornment, but a vital part of the national economy, a channel for distribution of national resources; and that clogging this is death? We can give substantial relief to the people at Pudupalayam and other famine-stricken areas where we have been enabled to set up khadi centres if only people will help us by a quick and generous consumption of the khadi that we produce. Ready consumption means room for more spinning and distribution of much needed relief among the starving people. Sjt. Santanam desires to organize the maximum spinning in the Pudupalayam area in this

[1] What follows is translated from *Navajivan*, 4-11-1928.

[2] From the appeal by C. Rajagopalachari, only excerpts are reproduced here.

period of distress there, and if we get public sympathy and support, he hopes to organize sale of food grains and seed at cheap fixed prices, the deficit being met from famine relief fund to be raised. . . .

The way the public can help is

(a) by sending liberal orders for khadi;

(b) by sending donations either for distributing grains free or at rates within the means of the famishing people, or for supporting spinning centres where initial outlay will be a necessity.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

I hope that this appeal will receive a generous response. The appeal is evidently written in a hurry and without possession of full facts. But past experience shows that in such cases a general description draws a picture less terrible than a mere narrative of facts reveals. The reader will therefore not wait for a detailed report before he opens his purse-strings. I hope too to be able shortly to give a rough forecast of the requirements. Let the reader remember also that the best help that can be rendered is to help to clear the stock of khadi that is being and will be manufactured. When khadi becomes current coin, though scarcity of rainfall will be always with us, there need be no distress such as would compel people to live on charity. While hand-spinning is being organized on a national scale, some charitable relief will be found necessary to meet emergencies. For all the famine-stricken people are not ready or able to spin, nor has the nation provided facilities in every village for willing spinners.

Young India, 25-10-1928

446. TRUE HOLIDAY-MAKING

A correspondent invites me to warn those who care against turning during the forthcoming Divali holidays good money into fireworks, bad sweets and unhygienic illuminations. I heartily respond. If I had my way I should have people to do house-cleaning and heart cleaning and provide innocent and instructive amusements for children during these days. Fireworks I know are the delight of children, but they are so because we the elders have habituated them to fireworks. I have not known the untutored African children wanting or appreciating fireworks. They have dances instead. What can be better or healthier for children than sports and picnics to which they will take not bazaar-made

sweets of doubtful value but fresh and dried fruit? Children both rich and poor may also be trained to do house-cleaning and white-washing themselves. It will be something if they are coaxed to recognize the dignity of labour if only during holidays to begin with. But the point I wish to emphasize is that at least a part, if not the whole, of the money saved by doing away with fire-works, etc., should be given to the cause of khadi, or if that is anathema, then to any other cause in which the poorest are served. There cannot be greater joy to men and women young and old than that they think of and associate the poorest of the land with them in their holidays.

Young India, 25-10-1928

447. HOW WE LOST INDIA[1]

It was at Jalpaiguri just before Deshbandhu's death that I said to a mercantile audience in reply to an address from the merchants that we had lost India through merchants and that we should regain it also through them.[2] If illustrations of the truth of this statement were wanted, a striking one is furnished by the following circular letter from a mercantile association to other similar bodies:

> As you are aware, trade in Manchester piece-goods and yarn has much gone down in recent times and is still showing a marked tendency to decrease. It has been noticed that business men are not taking as keen an interest in this trade as they used to do formerly. As a result of this indifference, our countrymen are steadily losing what was as it still may be a source of great profit and income to them. The Marwari community, along with other commercial communities, being very greatly interested in the piece-goods and yarn trade, my Committee adopted a resolution in their meeting of the 7th instant, to fully investigate into the causes of its depression with a view to taking definite steps for the rehabilitation of this important branch of trade.
>
> As the matter is one of general interest, my Committee consider it advisable to meet the representatives of different public bodies interested in the trade in a conference in order to take concerted action if possible. . . .

[1] An article by Gandhiji on the same subject appeared in *Navajivan*, 4-11-1928.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXVII, p. 215.

The circular is dated 19th July[1], 1928. I do not know the outcome of the effort. We are however just now not concerned with its result. The fact that there should be in our midst respectable bodies of merchants engaged in devising means for sustaining the trade in Manchester yarn and piece-goods, at a time when the whole country is trying to boycott *all foreign* cloth, is a portent which should be taken notice of by every national worker.

Enough evidence has been adduced from time to time in these pages that India is held by the English for their commerce and that by far the largest imports consist of piece-goods. Surely no committee or commission is required to prove that so long as this exploitation of our country is permitted by us, India will be held by the British by every means at their disposal. What we need therefore above all is not so much conversion or expulsion of the British residents or rulers as the conversion of our own merchant princes and their dependents who are selling their country for their own interest.

Nor need our merchant princes ruin themselves for the sake of the country. India will want all the quantity of the cloth and yarn that they are now importing. They have but to apply their undoubted ability to the manufacture of this quantity in our seven hundred thousand villages. In doing so they will naturally benefit themselves. I admit that they will have to give up commercial gambling, speculation and palaces out of all proportion to their surroundings, and be satisfied with an income bearing some relation to the condition of those for whom and with whom they would trade. In other words, instead of taking part as they are now doing in bleeding the villages, they would be making some tardy return to those on whom their prosperity has depended. The story of the belly and the members has an eternal application. The toiling millions are the belly. The merchants and others are the members. They must wither if the belly is starved. Those who have eyes can see that the belly has been shamefully starved for a long enough period. The withering of the members must follow soon as night follows day. Let us then repent before it is too late.

Young India, 25-10-1928

[1] *Navajivan* article has July 7.

448. "ECONOMICS OF KHADDAR"

Mr. Richard B. Gregg, the author of *Economics of Khaddar*, is a painstaking student. He has found additional material to support his thesis and discovered some printer's errors in his volume. He has sent me these additions and corrections[1]. The reader will not mind my sharing these additions and corrections with the students of Mr. Gregg's volume. They will also be glad to know that he is now compiling a detailed index for it so as to facilitate the study and research of khadi lovers.

Young India, 25-10-1928

449. MESSAGE TO LITERARY CONFERENCE

October 26, 1928

Where Anandshankerbhai is the President, success is assured. I hope that lovers of literature will not forget the poor of Gujarat and that Anandshankerbhai will not let them do so.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 28-10-1928

450. LETTER TO SVENSKA KYRKANS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 26, 1928

MESSRS SVENSKA KYRKANS
DIAKONISTYRELSES, HOKFORLAG, STOCKHOLM 7 (SWEDEN)

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am surprised that you have not yet received my letter[2]. The purport of my letter was that you were at liberty to translate the Autobiography in the Swedish language and that whatever you sent me would be utilized for some public purpose.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 12783

[1] Not reproduced here
[2] Dated June 8, 1928; *vide* Vol. XXXVI.

451. *LETTER TO F. B. FISHER*[1]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 26, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your letter from Hingham. I have got the book also, called *Understanding India.* I do not know when I shall get the time but as soon as I do, I shall read Mrs. William's book.

I reciprocate the hope that we shall meet one another some time next year.

Yours sincerely,

REV. F. B. FISHER
METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 3 MIDDLETON STREET, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13509

452. *LETTER TO HARRIETTE ASHBROOK*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 26, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I have also the book by Mrs. Williams. As soon as I can get the time, I shall read the book and let you have my opinion. But I am so overwhelmed with work that I do not know when I shall get the time to read the book.

Yours sincerely,

HARRIETTE ASHBROOK
COWARD MCCANN, 425 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

From a photostat: S.N. 14390

[1] In reply to his letter dated September 7, which read: "*Mother India* has created a terrible sensation in America. It has been difficult to know just how to meet the situation. . . . There is now coming off from the press a book by Gertrude Marvin Williams called *Understanding India,* which I believe will help in many ways to correct the wrong impressions which Miss Mayo has given. . . ."

453. *LETTER TO HORACE HOLBY*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 26, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter sending me the magazine *World Unity*.

I have instructed the Manager to put you on the exchange list.

You are certainly at liberty to copy whatever you like from *Young India*, and if I find something in your magazine I might consider to be of value for the readers of *Young India*, I shall take the copy with due acknowledgment.

Yours sincerely,

HORACE HOLBY, ESQ.
EDITOR, "WORLD UNITY"
4 EAST 12TH STREET, NEW YORK

Copy to the Manager, *Young India*, for necessary action.

From a microfilm: S.N. 14397

454. *LETTER TO J. B. PENNINGTON*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 26, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter. I wish I could find the time to read the book you refer to.

With reference to the problem of poverty I wish you were able to see the India that I know. I am sure you will soon change your view about India's poverty apart from the reasons for it. I have forwarded your criticism to Mr. Vakil.[1]

I do hope that you have still many years in front of you.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. PENNINGTON, ESQ.
3 VICTORIA STREET, 3 WESTMINSTER, S.W.

From a photostat: S.N. 14404

[1] Pennigton had mentioned that C. N. Vakil had overlooked the fragmentation of land, a result of the Hindu Inheritance Law, as a major cause of poverty in India.

455. LETTER TO SIR DANIEL M. HAMILTON

October 26, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I am sending a copy of it to Sir Purushottam Das.

You will have noticed that I published your paper in the pages of *Young India*. Several economist friends have interested themselves in it. I am expecting at least one criticism.

I hope you received the issues of *Young India* containing your article.

Yours sincerely,

SIR DANIEL HAMILTON
BALMAOARA, BY KYLE, ROSS SHIRE, ENGLAND

From a microfilm: S.N. 14418

456. LETTER TO W. H. PITT

October 26, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to hear from you after such a long time and under other circumstances.[1]

I quite agree with you that the death of Mr. Krishna Pillay[2] was a great loss.

The untouchability question in Travancore is still hanging fire. But untouchability, it is undoubtedly going steadily though ever so slow.

I hope both you and Mrs. Pitt are enjoying yourselves there.

Yours sincerely,

W. H. PITT, ESQ.
LIDDINGTON, SWINDON, WILTS

From a photostat: S.N. 14423

[1] Pitt, who was Police Commissioner of Travancore till April 1928, began his letter (S.N. 14422) dated June 15 thus: "My dear Mahatmaji, I am all but a private citizen, and no longer bound by official conventions, so I am using your spiritual title to address you, instead of just Mr. Gandhi!"

[2] Commissioner, Travancore Devaswom

457. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 26, 1928

MY DEAR GANESAN,

Here is a letter from Spain. Please send him the information he wants, and the books you should send only when he sends the money for them.

Mr. Gregg is here and he complains of absence of any letter from you, even regarding business enquiries. He tells me that you have not even sent a book to Mr. Roy in Shantiniketan. I have now sent a copy to Mr. Roy from here. Why all this negligence?

With reference to your letter about Bharati's songs, I have sent you a wire[1] today.

I wrote also to the Maharajah of Nabha some time ago.[2]

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. GANESAN
18 PYCROFTS ROAD, TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 13573

458. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT

October 26, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

Your letter came into my hands only today. I believe Ramdas has been carrying out your orders. All the same, I am sending your letter to him.

You have undertaken a big task. But you always succeed in your ventures, and so everything will be all right. I am sure you take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

MITHUBEHN

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2707

[1] Not available

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Maharaja of Nabha", 18-10-1928.

459. TELEGRAM TO MRS. S. R. DAS

[On or after *October 26, 1928*][1]

MRS. S. R. DAS
CALCUTTA

MY DEEPEST SYMPATHY IN YOUR LOSS WHICH IS SHARED BY YOUR NUMEROUS FRIENDS AMONG WHOM I COUNT MYSELF AS ONE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13585

460. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Unrevised *October 27, 1928*

CHI. MIRA,

I have been writing since 2.30 a.m., Kusum having got malaria. There are so many now ailing. Chhaganlal Joshi's whole family is ailing; Narandas has a relapse, Ba had a severe time; Pyarelal is prostrate; Chhotelal is threatening again; even the strong Surendra has not escaped. There are others who need not be mentioned. Standenath I must not forget. He had a bad attack. So you may imagine the time I am having. Mahadev is in Bardoli.

Well, in spite of the catalogue, God seems to want work from me and keeps me fairly fit. But who knows—?

Things are moving steadily. The calf incident has occupied my attention a great deal. It has done much good in that it has set people thinking.

(Here I had to stop for the prayer).

4.15 p.m.

Harjivan Kotak sends the enclosed telegram[2] from Srinagar. If you do not go to Nepal I would like you to retrace your

[1] S. R. Das, Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, died on October 26.

[2] Dated October 27, which read: "Wish Mirabehn includes Srinagar in her tour if possible and you permit." It contained the following remarks in Gandhiji's hand: "Write to him directly, Harjivan Kotak, A.I.S.A. Depot, Srinagar" (C.W. 5318).

steps and visit Kashmir. You should see it for its mountains as well as its khadi work.

Pandit Motilalji is here today.

I expect to go to Wardha during the last week of November.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5317. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8207

461. *LETTER TO K. S. SUBRAMANIAM*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 27, 1928

MY DEAR SUBRAMANIAM,

I have your letter. I am wholly unable to advise without having a chat with the members of the Council[1]. I do however feel that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is right when he says that he cannot do justice to the Agency as he has so many other calls on his time.

I return herewith Pandit Jawaharlal's letter sent by you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. S. SUBRAMANIAM
ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION, AHMEDABAD
395 KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 12784

462. *LETTER TO D. N. BAHADUR*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

You know that the Bardoli Inquiry commences next month. I am most anxious that the ryot's case should be represented before the Committee by some eminent Counsel. Could you find the time to study the case and represent the cause at the opening of the

[1] Of the All-India Spinners' Association. Subramaniam had enclosed a draft circular on behalf of the Association purporting to inform all khadi organizations not to participate in the Exhibition to be organized at the Calcutta Congress on account of differences between the Association and Reception Committee of the Congress as to the inclusion of mill-cloth in the Exhibition.

Inquiry? I do not expect you to be present at all its sittings. But I would like you, if you have the time and the inclination, to guide the advisers generally and appear before the Committee whenever occasion requires your presence.

Mahadev will personally hand this note to you. I am sending a similar note to Bhulabhai[1].

Yours sincerely,

D. N. BAHADURJI, ESQ.
RIDGE ROAD, MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13575

463. LETTER TO KALYANJI MEHTA

Saturday [October 27, 1928][2]

BHAISHRI KALYANJI,

It is said that the Secretary of *Hindu* is hand-cuffed and ill-treated in other ways. Write to me to tell me what you know about this.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Kanti must have left the bed now.

BHAISHRI KALYANJI
PATIDAR ASHRAM, SURAT

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2680

464. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

Saturday [October 27, 1928][3]

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have your letter.

Let me know what work you are now busy on. It is good that you joined the Mandal of Mithubehn.

[1] Bhulabhai Desai
[2] From the postmark
[3] From the postmark

Ba is getting impatient to send Nimu there. Nimu has not asked for anything. But today Ba was insistent and hence I write this much to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I read the accompanying letter after writing this one. But now I do not have to give you any guidance. Under the tender care of Mithubehn you will have no discomfort.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6858

465. FAMINE IN THE SOUTH

There is no end to the misery in the South. On the one hand, there is a severe draught around Salem, while on the other, we hear of floods around Kakinada. We have still to learn of the extent of damage caused by the floods. Meanwhile the appeal that Shri Rajagopalachari has issued with regard to the drought has been published in *Young India*.[1] From this it is seen that the crops have been damaged owing to water scarcity and that the farmers are worried. There is a sudden rise in the number of women who wish to spin. Whereas last September, 2,473 women came to the Gandhi Ashram in order to take cotton, this September the number went up to 6,423. The amount of yarn received during the month last year was 4,785 pounds, while the amount received this year was 12,802 pounds.

This activity is the purest means of helping the famine-stricken population and, if it is firmly established, the people would not suffer despite the famine. At present famine causes hardship because the farmers are rendered unemployed and are without an income. They would be free from anxiety if they could be assured of the security provided by a subsidiary occupation. At this time, there are two ways of helping the people, first by buying the khadi that is produced in this famine-stricken area and second by offering them unconditional financial assistance. I hope to publish hereafter the figures relating to the famine. Those who wish to share in this privation now may contribute as much as they can or purchase khadi.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 28-10-1928

[1] *Vide* "Famine in the South", 25-10-1928.

It was a very important speech that the principal had prepared on the day the Diwali vacation started in the University and the Vinaymandir and read out at the farewell gathering. Although it was a long speech, its effect was that of a brief one because it contained no figurative language or repetition. Its speciality lay in its crystal-clear truth. No attempt was made to hide any drawbacks or to dismiss them as unimportant. Despite this the report of this term of 112 days may be considered as very hopeful. The speech indeed contains a brief outline of many activities. It is obvious from this that even the minutest detail has not been overlooked. Amongst these, the sections dealing with agriculture and practical training in crafts cannot but attract our attention. In the field of agriculture, growing fruit trees and cotton is an altogether new experiment. The activities of ginning, carding, spinning, weaving and carpentry are the ones that are most striking amongst the crafts. At least two hours a day are devoted to the crafts. In order to do proper justice to the crafts, it will be necessary to devote more time to them as no craft can be mastered without a great deal of practice and a craftsman's hands cannot become experienced without a full amount of work. Proficiency in a craft cannot be developed in the same manner as a mental activity. After reading a little, the mind can develop without further reading as it can continue to think while being engaged in any other activity. Being a purely physical activity, a craft can be developed only while it is being practised; hence it requires complete familiarization with it. Moreover, the middle classes are not in the habit of practising any craft; hence, in order to form that habit, they require specially to cultivate familiarity with it.

Another point in the speech which attracts our attention is the reference to the dictionary which is getting ready. The present chaotic state of spellings acts as a hindrance to the development of the language. Kakasaheb hopes that this dictionary will be ready by March. If this task is accomplished, an important piece of work as yet unaccomplished will have been completed. Amongst all the languages of India, Gujarati is found to be the only one in which laxity in regard to spellings is possible.

A new experiment which has been referred to in the speech

is that of developing fellow-feeling towards one's servants. If we cannot do without servants, the alternative is to establish cordial relations with them by putting them on the same footing with ourselves. Kakasaheb hopes to establish such relations by running a class for servants. His good intentions will be fulfilled if the students carry out this task in an honest manner.

Despite these new activities, knowledge of the alphabet has not been neglected. Anyone who goes through the speech will clearly see that sufficient attention is also being paid to this aspect. In other words, a careful attempt is being made to put before the students who are being trained by the Vidyapith all that is required to turn them into village workers. Whether they will be receptive to this or not will depend on their enthusiasm. This latter factor in its turn is dependent upon the art of the teacher.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 28-10-1928

467. THE FAIR AT WAUTHA

This fair is held every year in Wautha on the full-moon day in the month of *Kartik*. Following is the notice which has been issued with regard to it by Shri Dahyabhai Patel on behalf of the taluk committee:[1]

This appeal involves a request for two things: one is for volunteers and the other for funds. I am confident that assistance of both sorts will be forthcoming. While sending in this appeal, Shri Dahyabhai writes that he has received a sum of Rs. 300 from the provincial committee. The other contribution that has so far been received amounts to only Rs. 31. The minimum expense amounts to Rs. 500. Hence I hope that the balance will be readily forthcoming. I consider it remarkable that the public can be served through the expenditure of such a small sum. I have found that volunteer bodies incur large expenses on such occasions.

It is not always the case that people enjoy only innocent pleasures at such fairs. Dahyabhai has described the ideal. It is

[1] The appeal is not translated here. It asked people to serve as volunteers to look after the huge crowd of pilgrims and to send contributions towards expenses.

the task of the volunteers in such fairs to see that purity is maintained. It is often found that at fairs

1. limits of decency are transgressed,
2. gambling is practised,
3. there is fighting,
4. wicked persons resort to ill-practices, and
5. many inedible things are eaten and things which should not be sold are sold.

It is impossible to stop these practices at once in a crowd of thousands. However, reforms can be brought about by making an attempt on every occasion. On such occasions, dealers of foreign cloth sell large stocks of foreign cloth too. Propaganda for khadi can well be carried on instead. If all this is to be achieved, preparations should be made in advance, and there should be a large number of good, intelligent and self-sacrificing volunteers. If these steps are taken, such fairs can be well utilized for educating the public.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-10-1928

468. MORE ABOUT AHIMSA[1]

I

A correspondent writes:

> I have read your article "The Fiery Ordeal"[2] over and over again but it has failed to satisfy me. Your proposal about the killing of monkeys has taken me aback. I believed that a person like you with his being steeped in ahimsa would never swerve from the right path even though the heavens fell. And now you say that you might kill off the monkeys to protect your Ashram against their inroads. Maybe that my first impression about you was wrong. But I cannot describe what a shock your proposal about the killing of the monkeys has given me, and may I also confess, how angry it has made me feel against you? Would you kindly help me out of my perplexity?

I have received several other letters too in the same strain. I am afraid people have formed an altogether exaggerated

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 28-10-1928. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

[2] Dated 30-9-1928

estimate of me. These good people seem to think that because I am trying to analyse and define the ideal of ahimsa I must have fully attained that ideal. My views regarding the calf and the monkeys seem happily to have shattered this illusion of theirs. Truth to me is infinitely dearer than the 'mahatmaship' which is purely a burden. It is my knowledge of my limitations and my nothingness which has so far saved me from the oppressiveness of the 'mahatmaship'. I am painfully aware of the fact that my desire to continue life in the body involves me in constant *himsa*, that is why I am becoming growingly indifferent to this physical body of mine. For instance I know that in the act of respiration I destroy innumerable invisible germs floating in the air. But I do not stop breathing. The consumption of vegetables involves *himsa* but I find that I cannot give them up. Again, there is *himsa* in the use of antiseptics, yet I cannot bring myself to discard the use of disinfectants like kerosene, etc., to rid myself of the mosquito pest and the like. I suffer snakes to be killed in the Ashram when it is impossible to catch and put them out of harm's way. I even tolerate the use of the stick to drive the bullocks in the Ashram. Thus there is no end of *himsa* which I directly and indirectly commit. And now I find myself confronted with this monkey problem. Let me assure the reader that I am in no hurry to take the extreme step of killing them. In fact I am not sure that I would at all be able finally to make up my mind to kill them. As it is, friends are helping me with useful suggestions and the adoption of some of them may solve the difficulty at least temporarily without our having to kill them. But I cannot today promise that I shall never kill the monkeys even though they may destroy all the crop in the Ashram. If as a result of this humble confession of mine, friends choose to give me up as lost, I would be sorry but nothing will induce me to try to conceal my imperfections in the practice of ahimsa. All I claim for myself is that I am ceaselessly trying to understand the implications of great ideals like ahimsa and to practise them in thought, word and deed and that not without a certain measure of success as I think. But I know that I have a long distance yet to cover in this direction. Unless therefore the correspondent in question can bring himself to bear with my imperfections I am sorry I can offer him but little consolation.

II

Another correspondent writes:

Supposing my elder brother is suffering from a terrible and painful

malady and doctors have despaired of his life and I too feel likewise, should I in the circumstances put him out of life?

My reply is in the negative. I am afraid some of my correspondents have not even taken the trouble to understand my article. In propounding their conundrums they forget that whilst I have certainly compared the case of an ailing human being with that of an ailing calf and recommended the killing of the former in exactly similar circumstances, in actual practice such a complete analogy is hardly ever to be found. In the first place the human body being much more manageable in bulk is always easier to manipulate and nurse; secondly man being gifted with the power of speech more often than not is in a position to express his wishes and so the question of taking his life without his consent cannot come within the rule. For I have never suggested that the life of another person can be taken against his will without violating the principle of ahimsa. Again, we do not always despair of the life of a person when he is reduced to a comatose state and even when he is past all hope he is not necessarily past all help. More often than not it is both possible and practicable to render service to a human patient till the very end. Whilst, therefore, I would still maintain that the principle enunciated regarding the calf applies equally to man and bird and beast I should expect an intelligent person to know the obvious natural difference between a man and an animal. To recapitulate the conditions the fulfilment of *all* of which alone can warrant the taking of life from the point of view of ahimsa:

1. The disease from which the patient is suffering should be incurable.
2. All concerned have despaired of the life of the patient.
3. The case should be beyond all help or service.
4. It should be impossible for the patient in question to express his or its wish.

So long as even one of these conditions remains unfulfilled the taking of life from the point of view of ahimsa cannot be justified.

III

A third correspondent writes:

Well, the killing of the calf is all right so far as it goes. But have you considered that your example is likely to afford a handle to those who indulge in animal sacrifices and thus accentuate the practice; do you not know that even those who commit these deeds argue that the animals sacrificed gain merit in the life to follow?

Such abuse of my action is quite possible, and inevitable so long as there are hypocrisy and ignorance in this world. What crimes have not been committed in the world in the sacred name of religion? One therefore need not be deterred from doing what one considers to be right merely because one's conduct may be misunderstood or misinterpreted by others. And as for those who practise animal sacrifice, surely they do not need the authority of my example to defend their conduct since they profess to take their stand on the authority of the Shastras. My fear however is that proceeding on my analogy some people might actually take into their head summarily to put to death those whom they might imagine to be their enemies on the plea that it would serve both the interests of society and the 'enemies' concerned, if the latter were killed. In fact I have often heard people advance this argument. But it is enough for my purpose to know that my interpretation of ahimsa affords no basis whatever for such an argument, for in the latter case there is no question of serving or anticipating the wishes of the victims concerned. Finally, even if it were admitted that it was in the interest of the animal or the enemy in question to be summarily dispatched the act would still be spelt as *himsa* because it would not be altogether disinterested. The fallacy is so obvious. But who can help people who seeing see not, or are bent upon deceiving themselves?

Young India, 1-11-1928

469. THE STUDENTS' INTERROGATORIES[1]

(Before Gandhiji commenced reading *Hind Swaraj* with the students of the Gujarat Vidyapith they had addressed him a string of questions for answer. As some of these questions are of general interest Gandhiji had dealt with them in the columns of *Navajivan*[2]. The following assortment out of them will be found useful by the readers of *Young India*. P.)

Under Swaraj

Q. What in your opinion ought to be the basis of India's future economic constitution? What place will such institutions as savings banks, insurance companies, etc., have in it?

A. According to me the economic constitution of India and for the matter of that the world should be such that no one under it should suffer from want of food and clothing. In other words,

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 28-10-1928.
[2] *Vide* "My Notes", 21-10-1928.

everybody should be able to get sufficient work to enable him to make the two ends meet. And this ideal can be universally realized only if the means of production of elementary necessaries of life remain in the control of the masses. These should be freely available to all as God's air and water are or ought to be; they should not be made a vehicle of traffic for the exploitation of others. Their monopolization by any country, nation or groups of persons would be unjust. The neglect of this simple principle is the cause of the destitution that we witness today not only in this unhappy land but other parts of the world too. It is this evil that the khadi movement is calculated to remedy. Savings banks and insurance companies will be there even when the economic reforms suggested by me have been effected but their nature will have undergone a complete transformation. Savings banks today in India though a useful institution do not serve the very poorest. As for our insurance companies they are of no use whatever to the poor. What part they can play in an ideal scheme of reconstruction such as I have postulated is more than I can say. The function of savings banks ought to be to enable the poorest to husband their hard-earned savings and to subserve the interests of the country generally. Though I have lost faith in most Government institutions, as I have said before, savings banks are good so far as they go but unfortunately today their services are available only to the urban section of the community and so long as our gold reserves are located outside India they can hardly be regarded as trustworthy institutions. In the event of a war all these banks may become not only utterly useless but even a curse to the people inasmuch as the Government will not scruple to employ the funds held by these banks against the depositors themselves. No Government institution can be depended upon to remain loyal to the interests of the people in emergency, if they are not controlled by and not run in the interests of the people. So long therefore as this primary condition is absent banks are in the last resort additional links to keep the people in chains. They may be regarded as an unavoidable evil and therefore to be suffered to exist but it is well to understand where we are in respect even of such harmless looking institutions.

FOREIGN *v.* SWADESHI

Q. What is your opinion about the importation of foreign goods other than cloth into India? Are there any foreign commodities which you would like to see immediately laid under prohibition? What do you think should be the nature of India's foreign trade in the future?

A. I am more or less indifferent with regard to trade in foreign goods other than cloth. I have never been an advocate of prohibition of all things foreign because they are foreign. My economic creed is a complete taboo in respect of all foreign commodities, whose importation is likely to prove harmful to our indigenous interests. This means that we may not in any circumstance import a commodity that can be adequately supplied from our own country. For instance I would regard it a sin to import Australian wheat on the score of its better quality but I would not have the slightest hesitation in importing oatmeal from Scotland, if an absolute necessity for it is made out, because we do not grow oats in India. In other words I would not countenance the boycott of a single foreign article out of ill-will or a feeling of hatred. Or to take up a reverse case, India produces a sufficient quantity of leather; it is my duty therefore to wear shoes made out of Indian leather only, even if it is comparatively dearer and of an inferior quality, in preference to cheaper and superior quality foreign leather shoes. Similarly I would condemn the introduction of foreign molasses or sugar if enough of it is produced in India for our needs. It will be thus clear from the above that it is hardly possible for me to give an exhaustive catalogue of foreign articles whose importation in India ought to be prohibited. I have simply inculcated the general principle by which we can be guided in all such cases. And this principle will hold good in future too so long as the conditions of production in our country remain as they are today.

Young India, 15-11-1928

470. SPEECH AT THE NEW GUJARATI SCHOOL, AHMEDABAD

October 28, 1928

This school owes its existence to Shri Indulal Yajnik, and we would be failing in our duty and be deemed ungrateful if we did not remember him while mentioning it. We cannot forget his major contribution towards creating an interest in Gujarat and its (the school's) activities. This school is the result of his endeavours. The teachers have carried on its work; they need to be congratulated on this. The principal of the school has made a reference to its connection with the Vidyapith. The school has nothing to do with the organizing committee of the Vidyapith.

It is my sad experience, however, that the Vidyapith and such other institutions do not function well if we do not narrow down the field of their activities, and the present limited scope of the Vidyapith is to ensure its progress and not retard it. I assure you that not the slightest injury will be done to those schools which render service to the nation. The Vidyapith exists in order to foster the educational activities which are being carried on in Gujarat. Its present endeavours are to make all schools self-reliant and to rid them of sluggishness and inertia. So far as this school is concerned, there is no such apprehension; otherwise, I would not have come at all today. I expect much from the students and teachers of this school.

You have enacted a very good play dealing with sacrifice. Luther sacrificed himself for freedom's sake. Similarly, there is a need to risk death for the sake of the national schools, regardless of whether one meets with death or not. We are brave at the outset, but are always ready to abandon our pledge because we lack faith in our work. So long as we lack such faith, we shall be unable to make India's prestige enduring as we want to do.

The Goddess of Independence is like an angel of death. She sits with her mouth open, inviting everyone to enter it. If we are not prepared for this, we shall be unable to fulfil our cherished desires. It is good for you to play, jump and make your bodies and minds healthy, but do not forget the basic difference between national and governmental schools. The education given at the latter may be good, but one thing these will not give you. Even today I proclaim loudly that those schools are fit to be abandoned by us. You should be determined to offer at the feet of Mother [India] whatever art and physical prowess you acquire in this school. Patriotism should be so taught here that every student should decide that, when he grows up, he will serve the country. If you do so while adhering to truth and ahimsa, it will include service to the family as well. I bless the children and request the teachers to put fully into practice the ideals they have accepted. So long as they do not do this, the children will be unable to respond to them.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 4-11-1928

471. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

Silence Day [On or before *October 29, 1928*][1]

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I have your letter. I was disappointed with the draft for an organization to promote swadeshi. I smelt in it merely a commercial spirit. From one point of view, however, what is happening is good. The draft shows the mill-owners as they are, and what can be better than that we should seem what we are?

I should certainly like you to keep yourselves away from this move, if you can. I am surprised to know that Shri Jaisukhlal is associating himself with it. You may, if you wish, show this letter to him and to anyone else who is likely to appreciate my views.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4706. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

472. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[*October 29, 1928*][2]

CHI. MIRA,

I have a moment to spare while the vegetables are being made ready for shredding.[3] Now that you are in Bihar I wonder what you will do about Malkhachak khadi work. Krishnadas is living at that place. You will do as the spirit moves you. I am simply telling you *what is which*. Rajendra Babu may not want you to see the place as it has no connection with the A.I.S.A.

Chhotelalji's bread is making much headway and cookery is greatly simplified.[4] But this you will see for yourself when you return. You will keep yourself in touch with Devdas and the Jamia.

Love.

BAPU

[1] & [2] From the postmark

[3] In *Bapu's Letters to Mira*, Mirabehn explains: "Bapu used to take part in the cutting and shredding of the vegetables for the common kitchen."

[4] "Chhotelalji had successfully built a brickoven and learnt the art of preparing baker's bread without using yeast" (Mirabehn).

[PS.]

I must not forget to tell you that I have commenced my own carding. I have begun with the medium bow.

BAPU

SHRIMATI MIRABAI
KHADI DEPOT, MUZAFFARPUR, BIHAR

From the original: C.W. 5319. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8209

473. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Silence Day, October 29, 1928

CHI. MAHADEV,

I got your letter, but not the [instalment of] Autobiography. I am sure I shall get it tomorrow, but all the same Pyarelal has undertaken to keep a translation ready. He is all right now. Kusum, too, is all right, but she is still confined to bed. As for me, God keeps my cart going; does not He? Has He stopped anyone's till this day? There is no special merit, therefore, in the fact that mine jogs along.

It was good that Bhulabhai immediately agreed.[1] If the reports of Anderson and others stand superseded, the burden does not lie on us. It is for the Government to justify the increase.

There was a letter for you, which I am sending with this. I could not read the signature. I hope you have not forgotten about bread and bread-making[2].

Parikshitlal wants to know whether you gave him a copy of *Antyaja Sarvasangraha*. Did you?

Ba has left her sick-bed. She is still weak of course. She is very much reduced. Radha and Santok have gone to Rajkot. They will return after Diwali. Mirabai has reached Muzaffarpur.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Motilalji came yesterday and left today. All the time we talked about the Congress. I am sending the preface separately to Jugatram.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11446

[1] *Vide* "Letter to D. N. Bahadur", 27-10-1928.

[2] The source has the last four words of this sentence in English.

474. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA[1]

AHMEDABAD,
October 30, 1928

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
BIRLA PARK, CALCUTTA

MAHADEV BARDOLI. ON GENERAL GROUNDS INVITATION SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNALISTS ADVISABLE.

GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 7878. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

475. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 31, 1928

CHI. MIRA,

I have your two letters at the same time, one about the Ashram and one describing your Meerut visit. I sent you two letters to the Muzaffarpur address, one on Sunday and the other on Monday.

I don't know how the news about the Ashram appears in the papers. Anyway most of it is all false. If there was any violent change I would have surely written to you. I have not dealt with even the change of name in the paper because Mahadev and others were anxious that I should not even announce change of name in the Press. Now, of course, I shall be obliged to do so. But the committee of the Udyoga Mandir would not relax the rule about *brahmacharya*, so that the fundamental rule about *brahmacharya* and all fundamental rules remain as they were. So does the common kitchen remain a fixture irrevocably for at least one year. At the end of the year only, it is now possible to reconsider the question of the common kitchen in the light of the experience that will be gained. The kitchen is going on merrily.

[1] Government of India had asked for G. D. Birla's views on a suggestion made by V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, to invite to India a group of journalists from South Africa to give them an idea of Indian culture. Birla, in his letter dated October 27 addressed to Mahadev Desai, had requested him to ascertain Gandhiji's opinion.

The Gandhi Ashram people in Meerut want carding demonstration and demonstration of other processes at the time of a fair that is to be held on 21st November. If you are not going to Nepal, it might be well to retrace your steps and go to this fair and give them what help you can and then proceed to Kashmir. Apart from everything else, I would like you to visit Kashmir and that you will do only while there is some khadi work going on. And you can take the help of Devdas, Rasik and Navin for arranging the demonstration, in which case it won't be necessary to send anybody from here, and as we are terribly short-handed at the present moment, it will be very inconvenient to send any from the Ashram. Yet I am anxious to help the Meerut people. Having known my views, you will do what suits you best. I have not held out any hope to Muzmudar who is the one to write the letter.

With love,

BAPU

SHRIMATI MIRABEHN
C/o KHADI DEPOT, MUZAFFARPUR (BIHAR)

From the original: C.W. 5320. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8210

476. LETTER TO R. KRISHNIER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 31, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have seen your letter to Subbiah. I do not think I can go through Bombay to Wardha. Bardoli is the most direct and less expensive route. You may therefore send your collection to me at the Ashram as I do not know when I am likely to be in Bombay.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. KRISHNIER
82/24 MIRANDA BUILDING, DADAR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13577

477. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

October 31, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I can understand Bipin Babu's attitude.[1] But I stand unmoved. The position is becoming clearer to me day by day, and we must learn to forget that life is everything and that death is nothing. Indeed, we must learn to regard death as a thing of joy.

If the Exhibition is going to be what you suggest,[2] we are well out of it.

You say nothing about Tarini's health in this letter of yours.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN, SODEPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 13578

478. LETTER TO J. YESUTHASEN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 31, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Not all feel the existence of a prevailing spirit or the power of endurance when they are in intense pain; but some undoubtedly do. It is quite true to say that the Creator puts an end to suffering by death when suffering is beyond endurance. The state of endurance is a question of degree. And if we do not consider death under every circumstance imaginable a

[1] Enclosing a cutting of Bipin Chandra Pal's article in *Englishman* criticizing Gandhiji's views in the calf controversy, Das Gupta had in his letter remarked that there was an attempt in the article to shape out a philosophy of "the joy of the mere fact of living", a favourite theme with the author.

[2] The Calcutta Congress Reception Committee had adopted a resolution to the effect that Indian mill textiles and needlework on foreign fabrics could be displayed in the Exhibition to be conducted during the forthcoming Congress session at Calcutta.

terror, we may under well-defined conditions anticipate it without infringing upon the rule of ahimsa.

Yours sincerely,

J. YESUTHASEN, ESQ.
BELMONT, COONOOR, NILGIRIS

From a photostat: S.N. 13579

479. *LETTER TO E. C. DEWICK*

October 31, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I had fully intended to be with you all at the time of the Federation in December.[1] But I see that it is not to be. I am thoroughly washed out and I have accepted the invitation of Jamnalalji to be in Wardha for a month just for rest before proceeding to Calcutta during the Congress week. Will you please forgive me?

Yours sincerely,

REV. E. C. DEWICK
5 RUSSELL STREET, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13580

480. *LETTER TO N. K. S. NOWLAKHA*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 31, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Shankerlalji has sent your letter to me. I distinctly remember having replied to your letter now over three months ago and therein I stated that the best thing would be to see Satis Babu about your scheme, because I do not know how I shall be able to guide you from here. If that is not the letter but some other letter you are referring to, please let me know and I shall attend to it at once.

I hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. K. S. NOWLAKHA
NOWLAKHA BHAWAN, AZIMGANJ (BENGAL)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13581

[1] *Vide* "Letter to E. C. Dewick", 21-9-1928.

481. LETTER TO JACOB SORIS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
October 31, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I understand that you collected some fund during my visit to Ceylon. These funds went to Allahabad instead of Ahmedabad and the Allahabad office returned them to you and since then the funds are held up there. As your subscriptions were earmarked for khadi, I hope that you will not divert the funds but send them to me for khadi.

Yours sincerely,

JACOB SORIS, ESQ.
MESSRS PAUL SORIS & CO., BADULLA (CEYLON)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13582

ADDENDA

1. *LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

July 3, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your letter. Yes, Father wrote to me all about Kamala and Indu.

It is clear that we have not got the atmosphere for a proper settlement. Look at the Kharagpur horror! There will have to be more pitched battles before the parties come to their senses.

I wish you will not feel lonely. Let us recognize that the task before workers is not as easy as we thought at one time it was. I would like you not to lose patience and take up some plodding work with a living faith in it. Let *The Song Celestial* be your guide-book.

With love,

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1928. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

2. *LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

July 29, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I do hope Kamala and Indu are flourishing. I had your wire and letter. The Presidential business is now finished.

I write this to consult you about Bhuvarji. He asks the Ashram to give him Rs. 20 per month and for this he wants Rs. 100 in advance. I would like you to tell me how he is working and whether he is giving you satisfaction. The A.I.S.A. will not and cannot give him anything. Do you advise the Ashram to supply his needs? What is the nature of work he is doing?

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1928. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

BARDOLI REPORT

In their report, absolutely pruned of epithets and adjectives, closely reasoned and concise as it could be, they addressed themselve consideration of four questions: "As the enhancement is based on ren land-owners demand from their tenants it is of utmost importance t mine whether the table relating to the rents paid by the tenants has b pared with due care so as to exhibit economic rents only. If it is f be seriously defective, all conclusions drawn from it must be reg valueless. Again, it seems reasonable that before competitive rents are as the foundation of the settlement policy, it should be determined what tion of the cultivated area is in the hands of tenants paying cash ren third question which demands consideration is whether abnormal peri been excluded in inquiring into the course followed by rents during rency of the old settlement. Lastly, we have to consider to what ex Land Revenue Code and the Settlement Manual justify almost exclusive on rental value for the purpose of determining new assessment rate after a study of the Code and the Settlement Manual and after personal gation and inquiries made in several villages from the people concern found:

1. That the table was seriously defective inasmuch as mortgage transa rents not realized in full, or conditional sales had not been excluded, allowance was made for rents, charged in consequence of improveme at the cost of the occupant according to Section 107 of the Land Code.
2. That the cash-rented area may be taken to be in the neighbou 20 per cent and that looking to the fact that "94 per cent of the o and owners cultivate themselves" in 1895, even a proportion of 30 as the land cultivated by tenants appears surprisingly large today.
3. That the boom period covering the years from 1918-19 to should have been excluded according to the statement made by the Member himself.
4. That the Settlement Commissioner relied on insufficient and unsc rental statistics as his "one true guide", not to check the results of th inquiry, but to avoid having to consider and allow for an increase in of cultivation, and that he used them not "to prevent the enhancem going too high" (in the words of Settlement Manual) but to enh assessment rates.

In view of the foregoing findings Sjts. Kunzru, Vaze and Thakkar came to the conclusion that "the demand for a fresh inquiry is fully justified" and that "recent announcement that revision settlement of the Viramgam taluk will be reconsidered makes the case for the reconsideration of the settlement of the Bardoli taluk unanswerable."

Sjt. Vaze issued an additional statement in which he laid special emphasis on the fact that "the present struggle in Bardoli is a purely economic one; it is no part of a general scheme of mass civil disobedience. . . . My observation satisfies me that the leaders of the movement are actuated by no other motive in carrying on the campaign than to undo, by using their best endeavours, what they genuinely believe to be a cruel wrong to the peasantry of Bardoli. It would be both inexpedient and unjust for Government to invest the movement with a wider political significance which it does not bear."

The report appealed to leaders of all schools of political thinking, ranged the sympathy of the few remaining waverers among Indian newspapers definitely on the side of the satyagrahis, and was instrumental more than anything else in bringing about a consensus of opinion among all circles including the Liberals about the justice of the people's demands and the minimum that was due to them.

The Story of Bardoli, pp. 148-9

APPENDIX II

BARDOLI SETTLEMENT

THE SETTLEMENT DOCUMENTS

The Letters Exchanged between the Surat M.L.C.s and the Government Regarding the Terms of Settlement

1

The following letter was addressed by the members of the Legislative Council representing Bardoli taluk and Surat district to the Hon'ble the Revenue Member:

POONA,
August 6, 1928

TO

THE HONOURABLE THE REVENUE MEMBER

SIR,

With reference to your letter dated August 3, 1928, we are glad to be able to say that we are in a position to inform Government that the conditions

laid down by His Excellency the Governor in his opening speech to the Council dated 23rd of July will be fulfilled.

Yours sincerely,

A. M. K. Dehlavi
Bhasaheb (Thakore of Kerwada)
Daudkhan Salebhai Tyebjee
J. B. Desai
B. R. Naik
H. B. Shivdasani
M. K. Dixit

2

Announcement of the Enquiry

Government thereafter announced the following enquiry:

The enquiry will be entrusted to a Revenue Officer and a Judicial Officer, the decision of the Judicial Officer to prevail in all matters of difference between the two, with the following terms of reference:

To enquire into and report upon the complaint of the people of Bardoli and Valod

(a) that the enhancement of revenue recently made is not warranted in terms of the Land Revenue Code;

(b) that the reports accessible to the public do not contain sufficient data warranting the enhancement and that some of the data given are wrong; and to find that, if the people's complaint is held to be justified what enhancement or reduction, if any, there should be upon the old assessment.

As the enquiry is to be full, open and independent, the people will be free to lead as well as test evidence before it with the help of their representatives including legal advisers.

3

The following further letters were exchanged between the members of the Legislative Council representing the Bardoli taluk and the Surat district and the Hon'ble the Revenue Member:

Poona,
August 7, 1928

To

The Honourable the Revenue Member

Sir,

Now that the principal point about the Bardoli question is settled satisfactorily we hope and trust that Government will

(a) release all satyagrahi prisoners,

(b) restore all lands forfeited,

(c) Reinstate all *talatis* and *patels* who resigned their offices.

Yours sincerely,
A. M. K. DEHLAVI
DAUDKHAN SALEBHAI TYEBJEE
BHASAHEB (THAKORE OF KERWADA)
BHIMBHAI R. NAIK
H. B. SHIVDASANI
J. B. DESAI
M. K. DIXIT

4

The following letter dated 7th August 1928 was addressed by the Hon'ble the Revenue Member to the above members of the Legislative Council:

GENTLEMEN,

With reference to your letter dated the 7th instant, Government, in exercise of their prerogative, will release all satyagrahi prisoners and will be pleased to issue orders granting your second request.

The *talatis* and *patels* will be pardoned if they apply in the proper form.

Yours sincerely,
J. L. RIEU

N.B.—The price paid for the lands which were sold by Government and were transferred to R. B. Naik as stated in para 86 of the Report was about Rs. 11,000 or double the assessment in respect thereof. The excess of assessment thus received was also remitted by Government to the individual cultivators with the result that the land was restored to them without their being out of pocket to any extent.

The Story of Bardoli, pp. 230-2

APPENDIX III

SOUTH AFRICAN CONDONATION

[I. FORM OF APPLICATION]

(Name)................................ known in India as................
of (address in Union) ....(Occupation) ....

1. Registration Certificate, Domicile Certificate, or other certificate No. of applicant ....
2. Village and country of birth of applicant ....
3. Name of father of applicant ....
4. Date and place of first entry of applicant into the Union ....
5. Name of wife (if any) and present whereabouts ....

6. Children (if any) ....

Mother	Name of child	Sex	Where born	Age	Present whereabouts
..	..	..	..	..	..

I, ... having been duly cautioned, hereby solemnly and sincerely declare that the above questions have been interpreted to me in ....which questions I hereby declare to understand and that I have answered them truthfully.

Signature (in Roman characters or thumb print) of applicant ....
Address in full...............................

Interpreted by me, ...
Signature ....

Declared before me at ....this.................... day of ....

Thumb impression of applicant ....
Left ....Right ....

....
MAGISTRATE, OR IMMIGRATION OFFICER WHO IS COMMISSIONER OF OATHS

[II. CORRESPONDENCE][1]

LETTER FROM C. S. SCHMIDT TO P. K. DESAI

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA,
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
CAPE TOWN,
February 24, 1928

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 6th January, 1928, in which you convey to the Honourable the Minister of the Interior the following resolution passed at the eighth session of the South African Indian Congress, held at Kimberley in January, 1928:

> That this eighth session of the South African Indian Congress in conference assembled, as representing the Indian community of South Africa, hereby assures the Union Government, on its own behalf and also on behalf of its constituent bodies, viz., the Transvaal Indian Congress as representing the Indian community of the Transvaal, the Cape British Indian Council as representing the Indian community of the Cape Province, and the Natal Indian Congress as representing the Indian community of Natal, that it will stand by and will generally honour the

[1] What follows is from *Young India*, 16-8-1928.

Agreement arrived at between the Indian and Union Governments at Cape Town, and in the spirit in which it has been conceived, and declares as it has always done that it will not tolerate any illicit entry of Indians into the Union.

In view of this assurance, and as an act of grace to mark the appointment of the Right Honourable V. S. S. Sastri, P.C., as the first Agent of the Government of India in the Union, the Union Government has been pleased to refrain from the full enforcement of Section 10 of Act 22 of 1913 as amended by Section 5 of Act 37 of 1927, in the case of an Indian who proves to the satisfaction of the Minister of the Interior that he entered a Province of the Union other than the Orange Free State prior to the 5th July, 1924, subject to the following provisions:

(a) Every Indian who has illicitly entered the Union must apply, on his own behalf or through the South African Indian Congress or a body affiliated thereto, in the Transvaal to the Commission for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs, Pretoria, and in the Cape and Natal Provinces to the Principal Immigration Officers at Cape Town and Durban respectively and shall furnish such particulars as may be required by these officers. Such application must reach the officers mentioned on or before the 1st of October, 1928. Indians who are in possession of registration certificates or certificates of domicile or other documents authorizing them to enter, reside or remain in the Union or any Province thereof, obtained by fraudulent representations made by them or on their behalf, must apply for the Protection Certificate or authorization to retain the documents in their possession referred to in paragraph (b) hereof.

(b) If the Minister is satisfied that an applicant comes within the terms of this concession he will direct that a Protection Certificate be issued to the applicant in the prescribed form or authorize him to retain the documents illegally obtained. No application will be entertained from any individual whose case does not fall within the terms of this concession.

(c) The Protection Certificate or the documents he has been authorized to retain under paragraph (b) above will preserve to the holder all the rights enjoyed by him at the date of the commencement of Act 37 of 1927, viz., 5th July, 1927, and the holder will be regarded as having entered the Province concerned in terms of Section 25 of Act No. 22 of 1913, but if he has not already brought his wife and/or children to the Union, such wife and/or children will not be admitted.

(d) An Indian whose entry into the Union or any Province thereof was illegally made, and who, after the 1st November, 1928, is not in possession of a Protection Certificate or who has not been authorized to retain his documents in terms of paragraph (b) above will be dealt with in accordance with the law irrespective of the date of his entry.

(e) The Minister reserves the right to apply the provisions of the Immigration Law in the case of an Indian who illicitly entered the Union prior to

the 5th July, 1924, and who has after that date been convicted of a deportable offence.

You are authorized to publish this letter if you so desire.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
C. S. SCHMIDT
SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR

P. K. DESAI, ESQ.
HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARY, SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS
P.O. BOX 5339, JOHANNESBURG

LETTER FROM V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI TO D. F. MALAN

MOUNT NELSON HOTEL,
CAPE TOWN,
May 14, 1928

DEAR DR. MALAN,

At my interview with you the day before yesterday I brought to your notice the strong desire on the part of the Transvaal Indian community that the 1914 Line should be drawn in the operation of the Condonation Scheme. I ask leave again to commend the idea to you and to remind you that it has the support besides of two such persons as Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Patrick Duncan.

In addition, my countrymen would like to be assured on three subsidiary points. I trust if it be not inconvenient to you, you will enable me in your reply to say that I have your authority in giving them the assurances:

1. No Indian who has once been condoned in the past for fraudulent or illegal entry will be required to apply on this occasion for condonation. His right to introduce his family will not be in jeopardy.

2. The minor sons of the men now to be condoned will be allowed to obtain registration certificates in the ordinary way.

3. In case the Protection Certificate is found in future defective in law or inadequate to preserve the rights of the holder you or your successor will take such steps as may be necessary, legislative or other, to make it fully efficacious.

In your reply I beg you will not be guided in the least by the loose language which I have used, but will pay attention to the substance of my request.

Yours sincerely,
V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

THE HONOURABLE DR. D. F. MALAN, M.L.A.
MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, CAPE TOWN

LETTER FROM D. F. MALAN TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
CAPE TOWN,
May 16, 1928

DEAR MR. SASTRI,

With reference to your letter of the 14th instant on the subject of the Condonation Scheme, I have given careful consideration to the points you have raised and have to advise you as follows:

1. 1914 Line — I regret that I am unable to accede to the wish of the Indian community. There is nothing in the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement to suggest that all illegal and fraudulent entries to the date of that Agreement were condoned, and there is no justification for the proposed "1914 Line."

2. Previous Condonations — I agree that an Indian whose illegal or fraudulent entry has been condoned under any earlier condonation scheme need not apply for condonation under the new scheme provided he is the rightful holder of a document attesting to such condonation.

3. Registration of Minor Sons of Condonees. — Such minor sons who have been permitted to enter the Transvaal will be allowed to obtain registration certificates in the ordinary way.

4. Amending Legislation — My advice is to the effect that the proposed form of Condonation Permit will protect the rights of the holders in terms of the Condonation Scheme but should it be found that the permit does not safeguard the rights of the holder, I am quite prepared to introduce amending legislation to make the permit efficacious.

Yours sincerely,
D. F. MALAN

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI
AGENT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, PRETORIA

[III. FORM OF CONDONATION PERMIT]

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, IMMIGRATION AND ASIATIC AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

Immigrants Regulation Act No. 22 of 1913 as amended by Act No. 37 of 1927

Subject to the conditions and requirements stated hereunder, the illegal entry of ....into the Province of ....is condoned and he is permitted to remain in the said Province.

CONDITIONS AND REQUIREMENTS

This permit is issued subject to the following conditions and requirements and to the provisions of the Immigrants Regulation Act No. 22 of 1913, as amended by Act No. 37 of 1927, and the Regulations thereunder.

(a) This permit is valid until it is cancelled by the Minister.

(b) This permit preserves to the holder all the rights and privileges enjoyed at the date of commencement of Act 37 of 1927, viz., 5th July, 1927, and the holder is regarded as having entered the Province of .... in terms of Section 25 of Act 22 of 1913 except that he will not be permitted to claim the rights and privileges conferred by Section 5(f) and (g) of the said Act, that is to say that if his wife and/or children have not been admitted at date hereof he will not be permitted subsequently to introduce any of such persons.

(c) This permit entitles the holder to retain any registration certificate, certificate of domicile or other document authorizing him to enter, reside or remain in the Union or any Province thereof; provided that if this permit is cancelled by the Minister such document or documents shall be dealt with under the provisions of Section 10 of Act 22 of 1913 as amended by Section 5 of Act 37 of 1927. The documents referred to in this paragraph are as described below, viz.:[1]

(d) The Minister undertakes not to cancel this document unless the holder is subsequent to the 5th July, 1924, convicted of an offence as specified in Section 22 of Act 22 of 1913 as amended by Act 37 of 1927 and the holder shall forthwith be dealt with in terms of Section 10 of Act 22 of 1913, as amended by Section 5 of Act 37 of 1927.

....

COMMISSIONER FOR IMMIGRATION AND ASIATIC AFFAIRS

(Date Stamp)

I,.................................... agree to the above conditions.

Holder's signature..

Witness ....

Place .... Date ....

The conditions of this permit have been interpreted/read over by me to the holder in...

Signature of interpreter ....

Left thumb impression..................Right thumb impression..........

Young India, 9-8-1928 and 16-8-1928

[1] Not given in the source

APPENDIX IV

COW-PROTECTION TRUE AND FALSE[1]

The question of cow-protection is extremely complex. The fanatic, the humanitarian and the economist will of course view it differently. . . . But the Hindu ideal of cow-protection has nothing in common with that of the first and transcends that of the other two. . . . The camel and the horse occupy the same position in the economic life of the people of Arabia that the cow does in ours. . . . Yet the ideal of camel-protection or horse-protection never arose in Arabia. . . . Even in the West the cow has more and more come to be regarded as the "mother of prosperity" and dairying has been developed into an elaborate science, but Westerners have not adopted the ideal of cow-protection in the sense in which we have. The cow-protection ideal set up by Hinduism is essentially different from and transcends the dairy ideal of the West. The latter is based on economic values, the former, while duly recognizing the economic aspect of the case, lays stress on the spiritual aspect, viz., the idea of penance and self-sacrifice for the relief of martyred innocence which it embodies. . . .

The story [in Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa*] runs that King Dilip of the famous Raghu line finding himself in his declining years without issue went to seek the advice of sage Vasishtha his preceptor and was told that the attainment of his desire was prevented by a curse pronounced upon him by Surabhi, the Divine Cow, on account of an unintended insult that he had once offered to her and that the only way to remedy it was to propitiate her by personally serving her and by protecting her against all harm in her roamings in the forest. So dismissing all his servants, the King entered upon his penance . . . "offering her palatable mouthfuls of grass, rubbing her body, keeping off the gnats, following her as her shadow, halting where she halted, sitting down where she lay down, moving forth when she moved." . . . Such was the power of the King's penance and so all-conquering his love that even wild Nature felt its spell. "When he entered the forest as its protector, forest conflagrations would become extinguished even without any shower of rain . . . the stronger animals no longer oppressed the weaker ones."

Thus it went on for "thrice seven" days at the end of which, wishing to test the devotion of her protector, the cow entered a cave in the Himalayas . . . and was suddenly seized upon by a lion unnoticed by the King who was lost in contemplating the beauty and grandeur of the surrounding mountain scenery. Startled from his reverie by the plaintive lowing of the cow, the King, ashamed of his absent-mindedness, fitted an arrow to his bow to shoot

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

at the lion, but to his utter amazement and dismay felt himself held as if by a spell and all his strength paralysed. . . . The lion . . . told him that all his prowess was vain, since he was not an ordinary lion but Kumbhodara the servant of God Siva and was protected by the blessing of that God in consequence of which no arms could prevail against him. . . . "I know I am helpless," replied the King . . . but one thing still remains to me. I offer my body to thee as ransom for the cow and I beseech thee to appease thy hunger on my flesh and let the cow go."

The lion tries to move him from his resolve by a variety of arguments. "If compassion is your motive," he expostulates, "then your decision is wrong, since by your death you will save only one cow, whereas if you live you will as their father ever protect your people against all troubles." . . . The King . . . once more presses his request. "So be it," replies the lion at last and the King laying down his arms throws himself before the wild beast "like a lump of flesh," so that it might make a meal of him. . . . But . . . instead of the dreadful leap of the lion which he was expecting, flowers begin to shower from the heavens and he hears a gentle voice speak, "Rise up, my son." He gets up and finds the cow standing before him like his own mother, with milk overflowing from her udders and "nowhere the lion!" . . .

And since the King has discharged his trust so nobly she grants him his wish. "Do not think I can produce milk alone," she says to him, "if pleased I can grant any wish".

Dilip is here depicted as love incarnate. Faced with the dilemma whether to lay down his life to save the cow or to gain the merit of giving crores of cows in charity he unhesitatingly chooses the former and finds that he has thereby propitiated an angel unawares. His relentless pursuit of truth leads him to the discovery of the true way of cow-protection — the way of ahimsa, of perfect love and therethrough everything else is added unto him. . . .

The cow whose service and protection is enjoined by Hinduism as a sacred duty is not cow, the animal merely, but cow that in our sacred lore appears as the personification of the "agony of the Earth", and that pleads for redress before the Great White Throne whenever the Earth grows weary under its load of iniquity. Its service includes the service of the entire afflicted humanity, of all those "who toil and suffer and are weary and need rest", the service of *Daridranarayana* . . .

Dilip's way [is] the way of perfect love . . . self-suffering and self-purification. It is this spiritual ideal of cow-protection that is exalted by Hinduism as the highest dharma and with reference to which the promise is held out:

"न केवलानां पयसां प्रसूतिमवेहि मां कामदुघां प्रसन्नाम् ।"

"Do not think I can produce milk alone, if pleased I can grant any wish."

Young India, 20-9-1928

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(*The*) *Story of Bardoli*: Mahadev Desai, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1957

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CHRONOLOGY

(*July 1—October 31, 1928*)

July 1: Gandhiji at Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad.

July 6: Sent message to *The Hindu* on its Golden Jubilee.

July 13: In letter to Barbara Bauer who requested him to resurrect her deceased mother, wrote: "I am but an ordinary mortal . . . as every other human being . . . I possess no extraordinary powers."

July 18: Surat Conference between representatives of agriculturists of Bardoli, Vallabhbhai Patel, Abbas Tyabji and the Governor, on conditions for inquiry into "the alleged errors of the official calculations of facts".

July 19: In *Young India* article "Non-co-operation or Civil Resistance?" Gandhiji wrote: "My purpose is to distinguish between non-co-operation with attainment of swaraj as its object and civil resistance as that of Bardoli with the redress of a specific grievance as its object."

July 20: Interview to the Associated Press representative on Bardoli question.

July 22: In *Navajivan* article "Evil Genius of Government" Gandhiji discussed minimum terms of Bardoli Settlement.

July 26: Statement on Bardoli question in reply to Governor's speech was published in *Young India.*

August 2: Gandhiji reached Bardoli.

August 4: At Sarbhon, addressed *patels*, *talatis* and representatives of 25 villages of Sarbhon division.

August 5: At Rayam, spoke on discipline.

August 6: Bardoli Settlement at Poona. Gandhiji congratulated both the Government of Bombay and people of Bardoli.

August 11: At Valod, spoke on the science of satyagraha.

August 12: At Bardoli, spoke to volunteers.
At Surat, spoke on the occasion of the Bardoli victory celebrations.

August 13: Reached Sabarmati,

August 16: Welcomed the Nehru Report for its unanimous recommendations.
At Ahmedabad spoke on the implications of Bardoli victory.

August 20: Spoke at Brahmo Samaj centenary celebrations.

August 28: All-Parties Conference met at Lucknow to consider the Nehru Report.

August 30: All-Parties Conference endorsed Nehru Committee Report in favour of Dominion self-government for India.

September 7: In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji spoke at school for deaf and dumb.
Motilal Nehru was elected President of Indian National Congress.

September 10: At Ahmedabad Gandhiji delivered speech on birth centenary of Tolstoy.

October 1: At Ahmedabad, spoke on Annie Besant's birthday.

October 5: Sent a message to Lahore Students' Conference.

October 6: The Madras All-Parties Conference met under the presidentship of Dr. Besant.

October 11: In *Young India* article "God Is" wrote: "I do dimly perceive that whilst everything around me is ever changing, ever dying, there is underlying all that change a living power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates, dissolves and recreates. That informing Power or Spirit is God. And since nothing else I see merely through the senses can or will persist, He alone is . . . I have no argument to convince . . . through reason. Faith transcends reason."

October 28: In Ahmedabad, spoke at The New Gujarati School.

October 31: Lajpat Rai received injury in a fracas between police and Nationalists in Lahore.

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ERRATA

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58	Line 11 from bottom	unconcerned	is unconcerned
72	Footnote	Appendix II	Appendix III
83	Footnote	Appendix III	Appendix II
111	Line 1	by reasons of	by reason of
141	Line 3 from bottom	waters	water
146	Footnote	Appendix III	Appendix II
147,	178 Footnote	Appendix II	Appendix III
249	Line 3	*sthitaprajna* to children.	*sthitaprajna*.
316	Line 12 from bottom	rein	reign
322	Item 360, para 2, line 10	in my life. "Thy faith	in my life "Thy faith
334	Item 373 to be omitted		

CORRIGENDUM

361	Line 3 from bottom	principle criterion	principal criterion